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# COLONIZATION

OF

THE WESTERN COAST OF AFRICA,

BY MEANS OF A LINE OF

MAIL STEAM SHIPS.

REPORT OF THE NAVAL COMMITTEE—EXTRACTS FROM THE PRESS—LETTERS—SPEECHES, &c.

NEW YORK:

PRINTED BY W. L. BURROUGHS, (STEAM POWER PRESSES,) 113 FULTON STREET.

1851.



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*John H. Brown*



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# COLONIZATION

OF THE

## WESTERN COAST OF AFRICA.

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### REPORT OF THE NAVAL COMMITTEE

TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, AUGUST, 1850, IN FAVOR OF A LINE OF  
MAIL STEAMSHIPS TO THE WESTERN COAST OF AFRICA, ETC.

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The Committee on Naval Affairs, to whom was referred the memorial of Joseph Bryan, of Alabama, for himself and his associates, Geo. Nicholas Sanders and others, praying the establishment of a line of steamers from the United States to the coast of Africa, designed to promote the colonization of free persons of color, to suppress the African slave-trade, to carry the mails, and to extend the commerce of the United States, beg leave to submit the following report:—

#### PRESENT SYSTEM OF THE GOVERNMENT IN REGARD TO THE CREATION OF A STEAM NAVY.

The proposition of the memorial involves an extension of that system, recently commenced by Congress, which has for its object the creation of a powerful steam navy, to be used in time of peace in carrying the mails, and in effecting great public objects, not to be attained by private enterprise without the aid of Congress. How far it may be desirable to extend this system will depend upon the double consideration of the present condition of our naval force, and the importance and feasibility of the ends to be accomplished by the measure. As to the first of these, the committee will present a brief statement of the facts material to a correct understanding of the comparative extent of our present steam navy.

In the report of Mr. Secretary Bancroft, made to the Senate on the 2d March, 1846, the total effective steam navy of Great Britain was stated, at that time, to consist of one hundred and ninety-nine vessels, of all classes; that of France numbered fifty-four; that of Russia, without the Caspian fleet, thirty-two; while the steam navy of the United States could boast of but six small vessels, and one in process of building; and of these one was for harbor defence, and another a steam-tug.

Since that time, however, Congress has provided for the building of four war-steamers, and for the establishment of several lines of steamships engaged in carrying the mails, consisting of seventeen large vessels, suitable for war purposes, and at all times liable to be taken for public service. Of these latter, nine will run between New-York and European ports; five between New-York and Chagres; and three between Panama and San Francisco.

Notwithstanding this increase in our force, it has by no means kept pace with that of other great commercial nations. The American Almanac for the present year estimates the steam navy of France at sixty-four steam vessels of war, besides a reserved force of ten steam frigates, now ready, and six corvettes and six small vessels nearly ready. The French Government has also resolved to follow the example of England in establishing lines of steamers, built so as to be easily converted into ships of war, to be employed in commerce and for carrying the mails, but being at all times subject to the requisition of the Government.

England, also, has added largely to her steam navy, and has increased her lines of mail steamers, giving evidence that she, at least, considers this the best and cheapest mode of providing in time of peace for the exigencies of war. On this subject the committee refer to the following facts, for which they are indebted to the remarks of Hon. T. Butler King, of Georgia, made in the House of Representatives, February 19, 1848.

By act of Parliament, 7 William IV., chap. 3, all previous contracts entered into for the conveyance of the mails by sea were transferred to the Admiralty. In the year 1839, the idea was conceived that the vast expenditures required in naval armaments might be made subservient to the purposes of commerce in time of peace. Accordingly a contract was entered into with Mr. Cunard and his associates, for the conveyance of the mails from Liverpool, via Halifax, to Boston, in five steamers of the first class, for £85,000, or about \$425,000 per annum. It was stipulated that they should be built under the supervision of the Admiralty, should be inspected on being received into the service, and certified to be capable in all respects of being converted into ships of war, and carrying ordinance of the heaviest description. Various stipulations were entered into in this and other contracts of a similar character, which placed these ships under the control of the Government; thus, in fact, making them, to all intents and purposes, at the same time a part of the mercantile and military marine of the country.

In 1846, the Government enlarged the contract with Mr. Cunard and his associates, by adding four ships, to run from Liverpool to New-York, and increased the compensation to £145,000, or about \$725,000 per annum.

In the year 1840, a contract was made by the Admiralty with the Royal Mail Steamship Company at £240,000 sterling, or \$1,200,000 per annum, for fourteen steamers to carry the mails from Southampton to the West Indies, the ports of Mexico on the Gulf, and to New-Orleans, Mobile, Savannah and Charleston. These ships are of the first class, and are to conform, in all respects concerning size and adaptation to the purposes of war, to conditions prescribed in the Cunard contracts. They are to make twenty-four voyages a year, leaving and returning to Southampton semi-monthly. Another contract has been lately entered into for two ships, to run between Bermuda and New-York. These lines employ twenty-five steamers of the largest and most efficient description.

In addition to the above, a contract was made, 1st January, 1845, with the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company for a line of similar steamers, seven in number, from England to the East Indies and China, at £160,000 sterling, or \$800,000 per annum. This line passed from Southampton, via Gibraltar and Malta, to Alexandria in Egypt; thence the route continues overland to Suez, at the head of the Red Sea, from whence the steamers again start, touching at Adan, Bombay, and at the Point de Galle, in the Island of Ceylon, from whence they proceed to Singapore and Hong Kong. There is a branch line connected with this, from Point de Galle to Calcutta, touching at Madras.

A contract was made, 1st July, 1846, for a Pacific line of British steamers, four in number, running from Valparaiso to Panama, touching at intermediate ports. This line connects overland, from Panama to Chagres, with the West India line.



Besides these, there were in 1848 twelve more lines of Government steamers running between Great Britain and the continent of Europe, making a grand aggregate of one hundred and fifteen ocean steamships fitted for war purposes. Very recently the British Parliament has resolved to extend the mail steamship system to Australia.

The committee do not propose that our Government shall attempt to emulate this vast network of steam navigation, with which England has already encompassed the globe. But it is believed that the recent increase of our territory, on the Pacific and in the Gulf of Mexico, forms an additional reason for a considerable augmentation of our steam navy, whether by a direct addition to the navy proper, or by the encouragement of lines of steam packets, to be established by private enterprise under the auspices of Government. If the latter system should be adopted, as already commenced, the ships will be built under the inspection of a Government officer, at the expense of private individuals; they will be commanded by officers in the navy, and will be at all times available for the public service. It will be the interest of the contractors to adopt, from time to time, all the improvements which may be made in the machinery and in the means of propulsion, and the ships will be kept in good repair. Besides being commanded by a naval officer, each ship will carry a sufficient number of midshipmen for watch officers, and thus a very considerable portion of the *personnel* of the service will be kept actively employed, with the opportunity of acquiring the knowledge and skill requisite to the proper management of a steam navy. A corps of trained engineers and firemen will be attached to each ship, and no doubt these would generally remain with her when the ship should be called into the public service.

#### SOME VERY LARGE STEAMERS REQUIRED BY THE GOVERNMENT.

The committee are of opinion that it is highly desirable to have ready for the public service some very large steamships of the description proposed by the memorialist. They would have great advantages over small ships, in their capacity to carry fuel sufficient for long voyages, and to transport large bodies of troops, and place them rapidly, in a fresh and vigorous condition, at any point where they might be required.

#### CHIEF OBJECT OF THE PROPOSED MEASURE TO AID THE EMIGRATION OF THE FREE PEOPLE OF COLOR TO LIBERIA, AND TO SUPPRESS THE SLAVE TRADE.

But it is chiefly for the great and beneficent objects of removing the free persons of color from this country to the coast of Africa, and of suppressing the slave trade, that the committee are disposed to recommend the adoption of the proposed measure. The latter of these has been the subject of treaties by our Government with other nations, with whom we have engaged to maintain a large naval force on the coast of Africa to assist in suppressing the inhuman traffic; while the emigration of the free blacks has long been an object of great interest in all parts of the country, and especially in the slaveholding States, where they are looked upon by the whites with aversion and distrust. The policy of all or most of these States has been to discourage manumission, except on condition of the removal of the liberated slave. In no part of the Union do the free blacks enjoy an equality of political and social privileges; and in all the States, their presence is neither agreeable to the whites, nor is their condition advantageous to themselves. In some of the slave States stringent prohibitions have been adopted, and unpleasant controversies with free States have been thereby engendered. The emigration of this entire population beyond the limits of our country, is the only effectual mode of curing these evils, and of removing one cause of dangerous irritation beyond the different sections of the Union.

The committee believe it is expedient to aid private enterprise in the coloniza-

tion of the western coast of Africa, because it is the most effectual, if not the only mode of extirpating the slave trade. The success of this measure will doubtless render the African squadron wholly unnecessary, thus reimbursing a large portion of the expense attending it, and at the same time better accomplishing the object for which that squadron is maintained. It may be expedient for some one of the great naval powers to keep a small force on the coast of Africa to protect Liberia, for a limited time, against the slave traders. But the attempt to suppress this unlawful traffic by blockading the coast has so signally failed, that it will probably soon be abandoned by the great European powers. While the influence of the Republic of Liberia has been shown in the complete suppression of the trade along a coast of several hundred miles in length, the combined squadrons of Europe and America have not been so successful on other portions of that unhappy shore. In 1847, no less than 84,356 slaves were exported from Africa to Cuba and Brazil. In the opinion of the committee, it is highly important to prevent the further Africanizing of the American continent. An opposite movement, so far as the free blacks are concerned, is far more in accordance with the spirit of the age, and with the best interests of all American Governments. The people of the United States have shown their strong aversion to the slave trade by the provision of their Constitution against it, and by their unremitting and vigorous efforts to suppress it. The success which has already crowned the infancy of Liberia, indicates the true mode of making those exertions effectual, while it opens up the way for restoring the free blacks to the native land of their fathers.

#### IMPORTANCE OF LIBERIA TO THE CAUSE OF CIVILIZATION AND RELIGION IN AFRICA.

The committee beg leave here to present some interesting facts which satisfy them that the territory of Liberia is eminently adapted to colored emigrants from the United States; that the establishment of this line of steamships by the Government will be a powerful stimulus to the cause of colonization, and will be the means of securing the emigration of great numbers of free blacks; that the slave trade will be substituted by a peaceful, legitimate and valuable commerce, opening new sources of enterprise and wealth to our people; and that the civilization and christianization of the whole continent of Africa may be expected eventually to follow. The facts presented are collected chiefly from the publications of the Colonization Society.

That portion of the western coast of Africa, called Liberia, embraces a tract of country included between the parallels of 4 deg. 21 min. and 7 deg. north latitude, extending about 400 miles along the coast. The first settlement was made by free negroes from the United States, under the auspices of the American Colonization Society, in the year 1820.

#### OBJECTS OF THE COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

The objects of that Society were—

“1st. To rescue the free colored people of the United States from their political and social disadvantages.

“2d. To place them in a country where they may enjoy the benefits of free government, with all the blessings which it brings in its train.

“3d. To spread civilization, sound morals, and true religion throughout the continent of Africa.

“4th. To arrest and destroy the slave trade.

“5th. To afford slave owners, who wish, or are willing, to liberate their slaves, an asylum for their reception.”



## DESCRIPTION OF LIBERIA.

The funds of this Society have seldom exceeded \$50,000 per year, but they have purchased territory, enabled nearly 7,000 free people of color to emigrate to Liberia, and have made provision, for such of them as required it, for six months after their arrival. In July, 1847, an independent government was formed, which has been recognized by France, England and Prussia. Upwards of 80,000 of the natives have become civilized, and enrolled themselves as citizens of the Republic. The Liberians have a flourishing commerce. They have not only succeeded in suppressing the slave trade along their own coast, but have also made treaties with several tribes, numbering over 200,000 souls, for the discontinuance of the traffic. They have purchased their territory from time to time of the natives, and are gradually extending themselves up to the British settlement of Sierra Leone, and down to the Gold Coast.

The interior settlements of the purchased tracts usually extend from about ten to thirty miles from the coast, and can easily be enlarged by purchase in that direction at a moderate amount. In no instance have the natives from whom the land was purchased been required to remove their residences. The land in the immediate vicinity of the ocean in Liberia is generally low, and in some places marshy; but there are some elevated spots. The land generally becomes more elevated towards the interior; and in some places, within fifty miles of the coast, it is quite mountainous. It is desirable for the colony to become possessed of this back country, as it is much healthier than the coast, and when the emigration from the United States becomes extensive, the mountain region will soon be occupied. The natives are a fine, healthy, athletic race; and even the emigrants to the lands on the coast have enjoyed better health than the emigrants of some of our Western States in the first few years of settlement.

Liberia is on the "grain coast," and is protected from the scorching winds of the north and east by ranges of mountains. The soil is fertile, and produces an abundance of Indian corn, yams, plantains, coffee, arrow-root, indigo, dye-woods, &c.

Every emigrant is welcome in the colony, and receives a grant of five acres of land, besides which he can purchase as much as he pleases at one dollar per acre.

The climate is not suited to the whites. The President and all the officials are colored men. There are flourishing towns, churches, schools, and printing presses. According to the statement of Rev. R. R. Gurley, who has recently visited the colony, the people are highly moral, well conducted, and prosperous, and the value of the exports of the Republic is at present 500,000 dollars per annum, and is increasing at the rate of 50 per cent. annually.

Not only will the slave-trade be abolished by the establishment of colonies of free colored people on the coast of Africa, but, as already intimated, these colonies will be the means, at no distant period, of disseminating civilization and Christianity throughout the whole of that continent. Already, a great many of the natives have placed themselves under the protection of the Liberians, whose knowledge of agriculture and the arts inspires confidence and respect.

As a missionary enterprise, therefore, the colonization of Africa by the descendants of Africans on this continent, deserves, and no doubt will receive the countenance and support of the whole Christian world.

## TWO POINTS REGARDED AS SETTLED TRUTHS IN REGARD TO AFRICAN CIVILIZATION.

Two points are now regarded, both in Europe and in this country, as settled truths, viz.: 1st. That the planting and building up of Christian colonies on the

coast of Africa, is the only practical remedy for the slave-trade. 2d. That colored men only can with safety settle upon the African coast.

That the free negroes of the United States will be induced to go in large numbers to Liberia, if a quick and pleasant passage by steam vessels be provided, and suitable preparation be made for them on their arrival, by the Colonization Society, cannot admit of any doubt.

The funds of that Society, augmented probably twenty-fold, will then be available, almost exclusively, for the comfortable establishment of the emigrants in their new homes—the expense of transportation chargeable to the Society being merely nominal.

#### NUMBER OF FREE COLORED PEOPLE IN THE UNITED STATES.

It is estimated that there are no less than 500,000 free colored people in the United States, and that the annual increase therein of the black race is 70,000 per annum. With respect to slaves, who may hereafter be manumitted, no doubt such manumission will, almost in every instance, be upon the condition that the parties shall avail themselves of the opportunity of emigrating to Liberia.

#### PRESENT MODE OF SETTLING EMIGRANTS.

The committee do not propose that the emigrants should be landed in Liberia, and then left to their own resources. Liberia is at present incapable of receiving and providing shelter, subsistence, and employment for any great number of emigrants who may land there in a state of destitution. It has been the practice heretofore, for the Colonization Society to provide for the colonists, whom they have sent out, for six months after their arrival, and the cost of such provision has averaged \$30 per head in addition to the cost of transportation.

#### AID FROM STATE LEGISLATURES.

A large amount of money will be required to settle the colonists in the first instance comfortably in their new homes. But there is no doubt, that if the Government establish the proposed line of steamships, the people of the different States, and the State Legislatures, will at once turn their attention to the subject of colonization, and that large appropriations will be voted, and liberal collections made, in aid of that object. The State of Maryland has already appropriated and laid out \$200,000 in this work, and the Legislature of Virginia has lately appropriated \$40,000 per year for the same purpose. But these sums are insignificant in comparison to what may be expected, if the Government shall give its high sanction to the colonization of Africa, and provide the means of transportation by a line of steamships. In that event, the whole mass of the people, north and south, who for the most part do not appreciate the rapid progress and the high capabilities of Liberia, will quickly discover the vast importance of colonization, and will urge their representatives to adopt measures adequate to the exigency of the case and the magnitude of the enterprise.

#### AID FROM MISSIONARY SOCIETIES AND FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS.

There is good reason to anticipate that important assistance will be rendered to the emigrants, not only by the Missionary Societies of Europe, but also by those governments which have taken an interest in the suppression of the slave-trade, and which are desirous of opening channels for their commerce, and marts for their manufactures, on the western coast of Africa.

#### ANNUAL NUMBER OF EMIGRANTS.

It is estimated that by the time when the first two ships are to be finished and

ready for sea, there will be a large body of emigrants ready to take passage in them; and that for the next two years each ship will take from 1,000 to 1,500 passengers on each voyage, or from 8,000 to 12,000 in each of those years.

#### PROPOSED MODE OF SETTLING EMIGRANTS AND ITS COST.

To furnish each family intending to devote themselves to agricultural pursuits, with a dwelling house suitably furnished, and a piece of land of sufficient extent, cleared and planted, together with the necessary agricultural implements and stock of provisions, will, it is calculated, cost the Society a sum equal to \$30 or \$40 per head for each emigrant, allowing each family to consist of five persons. The cost of establishing families intending to follow trading and mechanical pursuits, will be somewhat less than the above estimate for agricultural families; but the average cost for the whole of the emigrants may be estimated at \$50 per head, including all the expenses of transportation, making a total of from \$400,000 to \$600,000 per annum, *for the first two years.*

As the colony increases in population, and the interior of the country becomes settled, any number of emigrants that may be sent out will be readily absorbed, as there will be a demand for all kinds of laborers, mechanics, and domestic servants, and it will be unnecessary to make that provision for them which is now indispensable.

#### EMIGRATION TO BE REGULATED BY THE COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

The Colonization Society will, as heretofore, so regulate the emigration, as to send out only suitable persons, and keep up a due proportion between the two sexes.

By the compact between the Colonization Society and the Republic, made when the Society ceded its territory to the Republic, ample power is reserved by the Society for the protection of emigrants who may be sent out by them. Moreover, the authorities invite emigration, and each emigrant receives a donation of a tract of land.

#### COMMERCE OF AFRICA.

The establishment of prosperous colonies on the western coast of Africa, will, doubtless, tend greatly, in the course of time, to the augmentation of the commerce of this country. It appears that British commerce with Africa amounts to no less than five millions sterling, or about \$25,000,000 per annum. The belief is now confidently entertained in Great Britain, that an immense commerce may be opened up with that continent, by putting an end to the slave-trade, and stimulating the natives to the arts of peace.

The commerce of Africa is certainly capable of great extension; and it is worthy of observation, that the proposed steamers will open entirely new sources of trade.

On the subject, the committee beg leave to submit the following particulars, from which the future resources of this vast undeveloped region may be, to some extent, anticipated.

Palm oil is produced by the nut of the palm tree, which grows in the greatest abundance throughout Western Africa. The demand for it both in Europe and America, is daily increasing. The average import into Liverpool of palm oil, for some years past, has been at least 15,000 tons, valued at £400,000 sterling.

Gold is found at various points of the coast. It is obtained by the natives by washing the sand which is brought down by the rivers from the mountains. An exploration of the mountains will probably result in the discovery of large quantities of the metal. It is calculated that England has received altogether \$200,000,000 of gold from Africa. Liberia is adjacent to the "Gold Coast."



Ivory is procurable at all points, and constitutes an important article of commerce.

Coffee, of a quality superior to the best of Java or Mocha, is raised in Liberia, and can be cultivated with great ease to any extent. The coffee tree bears fruit from thirty to forty years, and yields an average of ten pounds to the shrub yearly.

Camwood and other dye-woods are found in great quantities in many parts of the country. About thirty miles east of Bassa Cove is the commencement of a region of unknown extent, where scarcely any tree is seen except the camwood.

Gums of different kinds enter largely into commercial transactions.

Dyes of all shades and hues are abundant, and they have been proved to resist both acids and light.

Pepper, ginger, arrow-root, indigo, tamarinds, oranges, lemons, limes, and many other articles which are brought from tropical countries to this, may be added to the list. Indeed there is nothing in the fertile countries of the East or West Indies which may not be produced in equal excellence in Western Africa.

The soil is amazingly fertile. Two crops of corn, sweet potatoes, and several other vegetables, can be raised in a year. It yields a larger crop than the best soil in the United States. "One acre of rich land well tilled," says Governor Ashmun, "will produce three hundred dollars worth of indigo." Half an acre may be made to grow half a ton of arrow-root.

"An immense market may be opened for the exchange and sale of the innumerable products of the skill and manufactures of our people. Africa is estimated to contain one hundred and sixty millions of inhabitants. Liberia enjoys a favorable geographical position. She is protected by the great powers of Europe. The Liberians have constitutions adapted to the climate, and a similarity of color with the natives. They will penetrate the interior with safety, and prosecute their trade in the bays and rivers of the coast, without suffering from the diseases which are so fatal to the white man. Liberia is the door of Africa, and is destined to develop the agricultural and commercial resources of that continent, besides being the means of regenerating her benighted millions."

#### CONSTITUTIONAL POWER OF CONGRESS OVER THE SUBJECT.

The foregoing remarks have related entirely to the advantages of the proposed measure. It is possible some scruples may be entertained in regard to its constitutionality. This, the Committee think, cannot be reasonably doubted. The Government has already adopted this mode of providing a powerful steam navy, at the same time giving incidental but important encouragement to great commercial interests. In this instance, the effectual suppression of the slave-trade and the withdrawal of the African squadron by the substitution of a number of mighty steamers regularly plying to that coast, afford a motive and a justification which do not exist in regard to any one of the lines already established.

It was the opinion of Mr. Jefferson, that the United States had power to establish colonies for the free blacks on the coast of Africa, and he desired its exercise. Chief Justice Marshall and Mr. Madison concurred in this opinion. And it is to be observed that the first purchase in the colony of Liberia was made by the Government of the United States. The opinions of the leading jurists of our day do not appear to differ from the great founders of the Constitution, who believed not only that indirect aid to the cause of colonization may be given in accordance with that instrument, but that the Government has power to establish the colonies themselves. The proposition of the Committee does not, by any means, go to this extent. It goes no farther than recently adopted and still existing operations of the Government, while it is believed to rest upon far higher and better grounds of support.

## THE OBJECT NOT SECTIONAL.

Nor does it involve any merely sectional considerations. The committee have therefore refrained from expressing any views which might be considered favorable to the peculiar interests either of the North or of the South. The question of slavery, now the cause of so deep an excitement, is not, to any extent, either directly or indirectly involved. The Government of the United States, it is admitted on all hands, has no power to interfere with that subject within the several States. Neither does the proposition at all interfere with the question of emancipation. This is wholly beyond the jurisdiction of the Federal Government, and belongs exclusively to the people of the several States, and the individual slaveholders themselves. But the removal of the free blacks to the coast of Africa, is a measure in which all sections and all interests are believed to be equally concerned.

From the foregoing considerations, the committee believe it to be wise and politic to accept the proposition of the memorialists, with some modifications which meet with their approval.

## DETAILS OF THE PLAN, STIPULATIONS, &amp;c.

Instead of four ships, it is proposed to make the line consist of three, which shall make monthly trips to Liberia, touching on their return at certain points in Spain, Portugal, France, and England, thus: one ship will leave New-York every three months, touching at Savannah for freight and mails; one will leave Baltimore every three months, touching at Norfolk and Charleston for passengers, freight and mails; and one will leave New Orleans every three months, with liberty to touch at any of the West India Islands. They will proceed directly to Liberia, with liberty to touch at any of the islands or ports of the coast of Africa; thence to Gibraltar, carrying the Mediterranean mails; thence to Cadiz, or some other port of Spain, to be designated by the Government; thence to Lisbon; thence to Brest, or some other port of France, to be designated as above; and thence to London—bringing mails from all those points to the United States.

The measure proposed by the Committee contains the following stipulations and provisions, to wit:—

Each ship to be of not less than 4,000 tons burden, and the cost of each not to exceed \$900,000. The Government to advance two-thirds of the cost of construction, from time to time, as the building progresses,—the advance to be made in five per cent. stocks, payable at the end of thirty years,—such advances to be repaid by the contractors in equal annual instalments, beginning and ending with the service. The said ships to be built in accordance with plans to be submitted to and approved by the Secretary of the Navy, and under the superintendence of an officer to be appointed by the Secretary of the Navy, and to be so constructed as to be convertible, at the least possible expense, into war-steamers of the first class. The ships to be kept up by alterations, repairs, or additions, to be approved by the Secretary of the Navy, so as to be at all times fully equal to the exigencies of the service, and the faithful performance of the contract.

Each ship to be commanded by an officer of the Navy, who, with four passed midshipmen to serve as watch officers, shall be accommodated in a manner suitable to their rank, without charge to the Government. The Secretary of the Navy at all times to have the right to place on board of each ship two guns of heavy calibre, and the men necessary to serve them, to be accommodated and provided for by the contractors.

The Secretary of the Navy to exercise at all times such control over said ships as may not be inconsistent with these terms, and to have the right to take them, or either of them, in case of war, for the exclusive use and service of the United States, on paying the value thereof; such value, not exceeding the cost, to be ascertained

by appraisers mutually chosen by the Secretary and the contractors. The Secretary also to have power to direct, at the expense of the Government, such changes in the machinery and the internal arrangements of the said ships, or any of them, as he, at any time, may deem advisable.

The contractors are further required to stipulate to carry, on each and every voyage they may make, so many emigrants, being free persons of color, and not exceeding 2,500 for each voyage, as the American Colonization Society may send; the said society paying in advance \$10 for each emigrant over twelve years of age, and \$5 for each one under that age; these sums to include the transportation of baggage, and the daily supply of sailors' rations.

The contractors also to convey, free from cost, such necessary agents as the Government, or the Colonization Society may require, upon each one of said ships.

Two of said ships to be furnished and ready for sea within two and a half years, and the other within three years, after the execution of the contract.

The Government to pay forty thousand dollars for each and every trip; and to exact ample security for the faithful performance of the contract, besides taking a lien on the ships for the re-payment of the sums advanced. The contract to continue fifteen years from the completion of all the ships.

To assist in forming a correct judgment as to the fairness of this compensation, the committee present an estimate of the probable cost of running the said ships.

#### COST OF THE SHIPS AND OF THE VOYAGE.

The cost of the ships at \$900,000 will be \$2,700,000. Upon this amount interest must be calculated at 6 per cent.; for, although the contractors will pay the Government but 5 per cent. on the portion advanced, the balance supplied by the contractors must be estimated at the rates in New York and New Orleans, which are above 6 per cent. Six per cent. will be a fair average for the whole.

The depreciation of this kind of property is estimated variously, sometimes as high as ten per cent. per annum on the total cost; but as these ships will be substantially built for war purposes, it may be estimated at a lower rate.

Besides this, an allowance must be made for repairs. New boilers will be required every six years, and the substitution of these for the old ones not only causes loss of time, but also injury to the ships, involving much expense.

The rate of insurance for this species of property is high. The committee are informed, that the steamships Ohio and Georgia pay eight and a half per cent.

Add the expense of running the ships, viz., fuel, wages of the crew, provisions, stores, dock charges, harbor dues, agents, pilotage, lighthouse dues, &c., which cannot be estimated at less than \$50,000 per voyage, considering that the distance to Liberia, and thence home, via Madeira, Gibraltar, Cadiz, Lisbon, Brest, and London, is about 12,000 miles; and that each voyage, with the necessary delays in various ports will occupy about three months.

#### STATEMENT OF EXPENSES.

Interest on \$2,700,000 at 6 per cent., . . . . .	\$162,000
Depreciation and repairs, 10 per cent., . . . . .	270,000
Insurance 7 per cent., . . . . .	189,000
Cost of running the ships, \$50,000 per voyage, twelve voyages per annum, . . . . .	600,000
Total annual expense, . . . . .	<u>\$1,221,000</u>



## PROFITS.

Estimating 1,500 passengers for each voyage, and twelve voyages per annum, we have 18,000 passengers.		
These, at \$10 for adults and \$5 for children, may		
average a profit of \$3 each, making . . . . .	\$ 54,000	
Government pay, . . . . .	480,000	
		<hr/>
		534,000

Balance of expense over Government pay and profit of emigrants, \$687,000

Thus it will be seen that the contractors will have of their probable expenses, more than two thirds of a million, or \$57,250 each voyage to be made by commerce and passengers, independent of the Government pay and the profit from the Colonization Society. It is quite evident that any further profit, beyond the ordinary rate of interest at 6 per cent., will be contingent upon the success of the enterprise in stimulating commerce with the United States at the points regularly touched by these steamers. The contractors have confidence in this, and the committee do not doubt that their confidence will be rewarded to a reasonable extent.

It will be observed, that as the Colonization Society now pay for the transportation of emigrants to Liberia, in sailing vessels, no less than \$30 per head, the proposed arrangement will make the actual cost eventually less than this, even adding the amount to be paid by the United States for this service, to the amount to be paid by the said Society, without estimating the receipts from mails, which will probably be large.

At the commencement of operations, when it is estimated that the first two ships will carry out 1,000 or 1,500 emigrants for each voyage, the cost will be little more than it is at present, while the passage will be quicker, pleasanter, and healthier, offering great inducements to emigrants, and placing them on the shores of Liberia in a sound and efficient condition.

As the capacity of the colony to receive a large number of emigrants increases, the ratio of expense will be diminished; and it cannot be doubted, that eventually, as the number of emigrants will increase, the cost of transportation will relatively diminish.

The committee do not recommend the acceptance of the proposition of the memorialists, that they shall be permitted to import the produce of Liberia into this country free of duty; on the contrary, it is believed to be better, for obvious reasons, to enter into no such stipulations, but to confine the remuneration, whatever it may be, to a direct payment of money.

In the above estimates, the committee have endeavored, as far as possible, to arrive at just conclusions; while at the same time, in view of the great public objects to be attained by the establishment of the proposed line of steamships, they have not deemed it inconsistent with the just liberality of the Government, that those who have had the sagacity to conceive, and who have the ability faithfully to carry out this noble project, should have at least a contingent opportunity of deriving a handsome profit from their enterprise. Considering the hazards involved in it, the committee believe their estimates to be fair and just to both parties.

The committee report a bill accordingly, to which they ask the favorable consideration of the House.

Reported from the Committee by

FRED. P. STANTON, *Chairman.*

WASHINGTON, July 23, 1850.

## A BILL

TO ESTABLISH A LINE OF WAR STEAMERS  
TO THE COAST OF AFRICA

[Report No. 433.]

*In the House of Representatives, August 1, 1850. Read twice, and committed to the Committee of the whole House on the State of the Union.*

Mr. F. P. Stanton, from the Committee on Naval Affairs, reported the following Bill:—A bill to establish a line of war steamers to the coast of Africa, for the suppression of the slave-trade, and the promotion of commerce and colonization:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, That it shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Navy, immediately after the passage of this act, to enter into contract with Joseph Bryan, of Alabama, and George Nicholas Saunders, of New York, and their associates, for the building, equipment, and maintenance of three steamships to run between the United States and the coast of Africa, upon the following terms and conditions, to wit:

The said ships to be each of not less than four thousand tons burden, to be so constructed as to be convertible, at the least possible expense, into war steamers of the first class, and to be built and equipped in accordance with plans to be submitted to and approved by the Secretary of the Navy, and under the superintendence of an officer to be appointed by him; two of said ships to be finished and ready for sea in two and a half years, and the other within three years after the date of the contract, and the whole to be kept up by alterations, repairs, or additions, to be approved by the Secretary of the Navy, so as to be fully equal to the exigencies of the service and the faithful performance of the contract. The said Secretary, at all times, to exercise such control over said ships as may not be inconsistent with the provisions of this act, and especially to have the power to direct, at the expense of the Government, such changes in the machinery and internal arrangements of the ships as he may at any time deem advisable.

Each of said ships to be commanded by an officer of the Navy, who with four Passed Midshipmen to act as watch officers, and any mail agents who may be sent by the Government, shall be accommodated and provided for in a manner suitable to their rank at the expense of the contractors. Each of said ships, if

required by the Secretary, shall receive two guns of heavy calibre, and the men from the United States Navy necessary to serve them, who shall be provided for as aforesaid. In the event of war the Government to have the right to take any or all of said ships for its own exclusive use on payment of the value thereof; such value not exceeding the cost, to be ascertained by appraisers, chosen by the Secretary of the Navy and the contractors.

Each of said ships to make four voyages per annum: one shall leave New-Orleans every three months; one shall leave Baltimore every three months, touching at Norfolk and Charleston; and one shall leave New York every three months, touching at Savannah; all having liberty to touch at any of the West India Islands; and to proceed thence to Liberia, touching at any of the islands or ports on the coast of Africa; thence to Gibraltar, carrying the Mediterranean mails; thence to Cadiz or some other Spanish port, to be designated by the Secretary of the Navy; thence to Lisbon; thence to Brest, or some other French port, to be designated as above; thence to London and back to the place of departure, bringing and carrying the mails to and from said ports.

The said contractors shall further agree to carry to Liberia so many emigrants, being free persons of color, and not exceeding twenty-five hundred for each voyage, as the American Colonization Society may require, upon the payment by said Society of ten dollars for each emigrant over twelve years of age, and five dollars for each one under that age; these sums, respectively, to include all charges for baggage of emigrants and the daily supply of sailors' rations. The contractors, also, to carry, bring back, and accommodate, free from charge, all necessary agents of the said Society.

The Secretary of the Navy shall further stipulate to advance to said contractors, as the building of said ships shall progress, two-thirds of the amount expended thereon; such advances to be made in the bonds of the United States payable thirty years after date, and bearing five per cent. interest, and not to exceed six hundred thousand dollars for each ship. And the said contractors shall stipulate to repay the said advances in equal annual installments, with interest from the date of the completion of said ships until the termination of the contract, which shall continue

fifteen years from the commencement of the service. The Secretary of the Navy to require ample security for the faithful performance of the contract, and to reserve a lien upon the ships for the sums advanced. The Government to pay said contractors forty thousand dollars for each trip, or four hundred and eighty thousand dollars per annum.

SEC. 2. *And be it further enacted*, That the President of the United States shall cause to be issued the bonds of the United States, as the same may, from time to time, be required by the Secretary of the Navy to carry out the contract aforesaid.

## LETTER FROM HON. T. BUTLER KING

TO HON. F. P. STANTON, ON THE REPORT OF NAVAL COMMITTEE.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
September 10, 1850.

DEAR SIR:—I take the liberty of sending you a copy of the Report of the Naval Committee of the House, proposing a line of steamers to the coast of Africa. Your long experience on this committee, and at its head, will enable you to judge, far more correctly than I can, of the policy of the measure, and especially of the details of the bill. If you can find sufficient leisure, I will esteem it a favor to receive from you any suggestions which may occur to your mind, either favorable or unfavorable to the bill in question.

I am, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

FRED. P. STANTON.

Hon. T. BUTLER KING, present.

WASHINGTON, September 10, 1850.

DEAR SIR:—I have had the honor to receive your letter of this date, and also your report, proposing a line of steamers to Africa, which I have read with great interest. The subjects of which it treats are, in my opinion, of the utmost importance to our whole country. No one, I suppose, will hesitate to admit the necessity of a steam navy, if we intend, in the event of war, to protect our commerce, or defend our sea-coast from uninvited blockades and actual invasion. There is as little doubt of the expediency of colonizing the free colored people of the United States on the coast of Africa. If any one hesitates to believe this, let him read the opinions of Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Marshall, and a host of others in favor of

colonization; let him also reflect, for a moment, on the magnitude of the evil which must inevitably attend the vast increase and permanent establishment of a mixed race among us; especially in the slaveholding States. Your measure, in a most statesmanlike manner, proposes to employ steamships of the largest class, which may at any moment be converted into war-steamers, in the removal of free negroes and colored people from the United States to the coast of Africa; thus employing the means of defence which modern inventions and improvements have rendered necessary to our security, in removing an evil which threatens to degrade our race, and to be the cause of much annoyance, and perhaps, in some instances, of danger to the slaveholding States.

With respect to the wisdom of the policy of your measure, as connected with our commerce and national defence, there cannot be, in my judgment, the least doubt or question. In the progress of maritime powers, it is quite evident that whatever inventions and improvements may be successfully adopted by one in naval armaments or commercial intercourse, must be employed by all who would compete with her. It will not be denied that the United States are the rival of Great Britain on the ocean, and that we must either lead or follow in those improvements, or yield our commerce to support her power. Before the employment of steam in ocean navigation, our mercantile marine had attained a most decided superiority over hers, in the sea-going qualities of our ships, and in the activity, integrity, and intelligence of our commanders and crews. The consequence was that our lines of packet-ships put down all competition in the conveyance of passengers, correspondence, and valuable freight; and there was not such a thing known as a packet-ship from any other country entering our ports. This was the evidence of what we could accomplish under the old system in the event of war. The introduction of steam gave her the means, as was supposed, to reverse this state of things. She was the first to test its power and utility in naval warfare, and in the carrying trade. The skill of her engineers and mechanics, their experience in the construction of steam machinery, her vast expenditures for naval purposes, and the great wealth of her merchants, seemed for a time to bid defiance to all competition.

She soon constructed a powerful steam navy, and by uniting a very large amount of government expenditure with private enterprise, has extended her steam mail-packet system to all parts of the world. This mode



of creating a steam navy she appears most anxious to encourage and protect, for the reason that it is designed to put down all competition in the carrying trade, and ultimately to support itself on, and to control, the commerce of all nations. There cannot be a doubt that the money annually paid for the conveyance of letters and other mailable matter at sea, by passengers and for freight on package goods, is amply sufficient to support a steam navy powerful enough to crush all the sailing navies of the present day ; and such are the laws of trade and commercial intercourse, that steam-packets are taking the place of sailing ships in all branches of commerce. Whatever one merchant can do in the prosecution of his business, with *certainly, celerity, and profit*, all others must do who attempt to compete with him.

If an importer in the city of New York orders his goods from Liverpool to be sent in a steamer, and receives them within twelve days after they have been shipped, and his competitors employ sailing ships which are thirty days on the passage, he who has received his supplies by the steamer not only saves eighteen days' interest on his money, but supplies the market, and performs this operation nearly three times, while his lazy neighbors are attempting to do it once. This process would soon enrich the man who employs steam, and impoverish those who move by sails. These remarks apply, of course, to the valuable package-goods trade, articles of modes, &c., &c., which pay high freights and are most valued in *their season*. So it is with passengers and the mails. No man thinks now of taking passage in, or sending letters by, a sailing packet, if there is a steamer on the same route. The whole travel and correspondence, therefore, of the world, by sea, is rapidly passing into steamships. These are the laws, also, which govern communications on land. While we are urging the importance of cheap postage, and complain at paying ten cents on a sheet of letter-paper, we are daily sending telegraphic despatches which cost that sum for every word.

In the process of examining all the considerations connected with ocean steam navigation, it was ascertained that a *steamer, to resist successfully and safely the effects of a heavy sea driven by a head wind, must be built strong enough to carry guns*, and withstand the discharge of a battery ; and, therefore, all ships of that description might be employed for the two great purposes of commerce and war. To construct sailing ships for the merchant service, so as to make them suitable for war purposes,

would so increase their cost and load them with timber as to render it impossible for them to compete, in the carrying trade, with vessels of the ordinary construction. This is the reason why the mercantile marine has not been regarded as of much value for naval purposes. If, then, in the progress of events, a steam navy has become necessary to our position and safety, as a great commercial nation, and for the protection and security of our extensive coasts, embracing the shores of the Atlantic from the St. Croix to the southern point of Florida, more than three-fourths of the Gulf of Mexico, and seventeen degrees of latitude in the Pacific, which cannot be defended against a fleet of armed steamers by any system of fortifications which the skill of man could devise or the wealth of the nation establish ; it becomes proper to consider what course of policy will, at the least expense, produce what we require. In the first place, we must take into view the fact that at least two years are required to construct the machinery of a war-steamer of the first class, and place it in the ship. If, therefore, we wait until war shall actually have commenced, before we prepare the machinery for a steam navy, we must expect to suffer all the disasters which an enterprising enemy may inflict upon us during the time required to enable us to meet him with a force similar to his own. If we attempt to proceed now to the construction of a steam navy as powerful as we should require in a state of war, the expenditure would be much greater than Congress or the country would permit.

But suppose the money should be appropriated and the ships built, the probability is, they would decay, or require a sum equal to their original cost to keep them in repair, and their machinery would be rendered valueless by new improvements and inventions, before they would be required in actual war. The changes which are constantly taking place in steam machinery render it inexpedient to waste money in preparing it until it is required for actual use ; so it will be perceived that there are such great and striking peculiarities attending the maintenance of a steam navy in time of peace, that if a course of policy can be pursued which will give us an ample supply of that description of force at a comparatively small cost, it would seem wise to adopt it. Such I believe to be the policy which has been extensively adopted by Great Britain, and, to a limited extent, by our own Government, of combining government expenditure with private enterprise

in the establishment of lines of mail steamers, so constructed as to be available at all times for war purposes; to be kept in commission, and all improvements in machinery adopted, at the expense of the contractors, until finally, in the progress of events, it shall be able to support itself.

I am aware it has been urged that this system should be left entirely to individual enterprise. It is possible that the skill and energy of our merchants may have accomplished something in that way, if they had only to contend against the capital and efforts of individuals, but that is not the case; the government of Great Britain has come forward in such a spirit as to leave no doubt or question that she has adopted the system as being vital to her commercial and naval supremacy, and consequently it would be folly, if not madness, to suppose that our merchants can compete, unaided, with such antagonists. This system, as far as it has been adopted by our Government, has worked well. The line on the Pacific from Panama to San Francisco, most fortunately, went into operation soon after the discovery of gold in California, and served a most valuable purpose in keeping up a regular communication with that distant territory at a most critical and important period, in conveying emigrants to it, and in affording a safe and speedy means of conveyance for large quantities of gold to the Atlantic States.

The advantages thus derived to the country from the establishment of this line, and the one from New York to New Orleans which connects with it at the Isthmus, cannot well be estimated in dollars and cents. The line from New York to New Orleans has performed another important achievement. It has accomplished what was designed in its establishment. It has caused the withdrawal of the British West India line of fourteen steamers, which received twelve hundred thousand dollars a year from the government, and was bound by contract to touch at Havana, the ports of Mexico on the Gulf, at New Orleans, Mobile, Savannah, Charleston, and was intended to convey to and from those ports passengers, the mails, and freight, and for a powerful fleet, in the event of war, to act on our southern coast. The New York and New Orleans line was intended to act as a guard for our southern coast, and to cut off this British line from our southern ports, by connecting with the European lines at New York, and affording a more speedy communication south than that through the West Indies. This has been effected, and the British line has been

withdrawn. The wharves and coal belonging to the British company in Havana have been sold, and purchased by the New York company.

It is believed that the two lines which form a direct communication from our Atlantic and Gulf ports to California and Oregon, are already paying into the Treasury, in the form of postage, an amount quite equal to that which they receive, under their contracts, from the Government, so that this branch of the system sustains itself. The New York and Liverpool line has recently gone into operation, and has already achieved a brilliant triumph over its British competitor, which gives the most perfect confidence of its future success. It cannot be doubted, therefore, that Congress and the country have cause to be satisfied with, and proud of this system, as far as it has been adopted. It has accomplished more than its friends promised for it.

The most important and interesting feature of the measure presented by you, is that which proposes the colonization of the free colored people of the United States on the coast of Africa. Of all the plans which have heretofore, from time to time, been suggested, to effect this most important object, no one has combined such elements of success. Connecting itself with our naval preparations and the extension of our commercial intercourse, for the *removal of an acknowledged evil*, one would suppose it must receive the support of patriotic men of all sections, and of all parties.

So much has been said and written by the ablest men of our country in favor of colonization, that it would seem superfluous to attempt to add one word to the mass of argument which has long since been laid before the public. We cannot, however, shut our eyes to the progress of an evil which threatens the most serious consequences to our country, and which, if not removed, must produce among us all the degrading influences of a mixed race. To the slaveholding States, this is a question of the most vital importance. I have long since been of opinion that their welfare and safety imperiously demanded the removal of all free negroes and colored persons from their borders, and this policy, I have reason to believe, would have been adopted, but for the difficulty of providing for them a cheap and convenient mode of removal, and a comfortable home. Your plan obviates these objections. Most of the difficulties which have arisen in slaveholding countries have been planned and encouraged by free colored

people. Partaking of the intelligence of the white race, they are compelled to associate with the black. Being idle and vicious in their habits, they desire to possess the comforts which they have not the honest industry to acquire, and are at all times ready to employ the misguided slaves to accomplish their diabolical purposes. The increase of these free colored people in our southern towns and cities has already become a most serious evil, and a perfect nuisance. Their speedy removal is demanded by every consideration connected with our progress and safety.

It is a well established principle, that the white and black races cannot exist together on terms of equality and fraternity. With us, the black race must remain in subjection to the white, or be exterminated. The slaves cannot be removed, but the free negroes and colored people can be, and the security of both master and servant promoted. The colonization of those people on the coast of Africa, I cannot doubt, will accomplish all in the civilization and christianization of the native tribes that has been predicted by those who have written most ably on the subject. The increase of population which would soon take place on the African coast, by carrying the measure proposed by you into effect, would soon open an extensive traffic with the populous and fertile districts of the interior, and the commerce which would thus spring up would be much more profitable to the natives than the slave trade, which, in the progress of civilization, would necessarily be discontinued.

I have examined with much care the bill accompanying your report; its provisions are well guarded and perfectly practicable. The size of the steamers to be employed, four thousand tons burthen, is a great desideratum, whether considered in connexion with our naval or commercial marine. All persons connected with ocean steam navigation are beginning to appreciate the great superiority, in all respects, of large steamers over small ones. The British builders commenced with twelve and thirteen hundred tons. They have now got up to twenty-two hundred, and will soon follow ours to three thousand and four thousand. The price you propose to pay, when considered in connexion with the nature of the service to be performed, must be regarded as sufficiently moderate. The Cunard line between Liverpool and New York receives \$725,000, or about \$181,000 for each steamer, from the Government, per annum. These steamers, since the Asia and Africa were placed on the line, average about two thousand tons each.

Your steamers are to be twice the size of these, or four thousand tons each, for which you propose to allow \$160,000 per annum from Government. The Cunard line is on the great thoroughfare between Europe and America, over which passes most of the valuable freight to this country. Your steamers are to go over an untried route, where, for some time at least, there can be but little prospect of remuneration, except what may be received from Government and passengers. In view of these facts, I am satisfied that the amount stipulated in your bill to be paid to the proposed line cannot be considered as more than one-half the compensation paid to Mr. Cunard.

The annual cost, as stated by the Navy Department, of a war-steamer of the first class, in commission, with but 90 days' coal, is - - - - \$190,600

If we add to this sum the cost of coal to supply her the other 175 days, as calculated for the 90 days - - - - - 75,600

We have a total expense, per annum, of - - - - \$266,200

These steamers are but 1,800 tons burthen. You propose to keep in commission, and at all times prepared for the use of the Government, steamers of 4,000, for less than two-thirds of that sum, and in the mean time to employ them in a most important service, and in extending our commerce. I therefore hope your measure may meet the approbation of Congress, as I feel assured it will of the great mass of the people of all sections of the country.

I am, with great respect,

Very truly yours,  
T. BUTLER KING.

Hon. F. P. STANTON, &c., &c.,  
House of Representatives.

LETTER FROM T. J. DURANT, Esq.,  
OF NEW ORLEANS, IN FAVOR OF THE REPORT  
OF THE NAVAL COMMITTEE, AND IN REPLY  
TO A SERIES OF ARTICLES ON THE  
COMMERCIAL BULLETIN, NEW ORLEANS.

WASHINGTON, September 12, 1850.  
To the editor of the *Commercial Bulletin*,  
New-Orleans.

MR. EDITOR: I have just seen three articles from recent numbers of your journal, in which you comment at large on the "report of the Naval Committee to the House of Representatives in favor of the establishment of a line of steam-



ships to the western coast of Africa," submitted by the Hon. Frederick P. Stanton, of Tennessee, chairman, on the 1st August, 1850. The main features of the report and its recommendations met with my hearty concurrence; and I now desire to submit to you some of the reasons which induce me to support the measure, and at the same time to address myself to certain objections which you urge in your articles against the plan. Fully to appreciate this measure, it is necessary to take a view of the whole scope and nature of this great project.

Those who support this undertaking design "to promote the emigration of free persons of color from the United States to Liberia, to increase the steam navy, and to extend the commerce of the United States," while you, sir, seem to entertain the opinion that not one of these objects can be attained by the proposed means.—One or the other of us, then, must be entirely in the wrong; for I do not hesitate to assert that all of these objects can be advanced in an eminent degree by the means proposed; and although the report of the Naval Committee itself is fruitful in facts and arrangements sustaining my position, yet, as the document does not appear in your articles to have commanded such a share of your attention as, from an impartial commentator, it certainly deserved, I will briefly review the objections which you have urged.

Your article of 20th August last requires but a very brief notice, inasmuch as it consists chiefly of strictures upon the original memorial of the projectors, which did not specify how the home voyage was to be made, and contained, moreover, a variety of particulars that the committee thought fit to reject; yet I find you mix up these rejected particulars with the report itself in such a way as to present a strange and unintelligible mass, calculated to bewilder your readers, and induce them to believe that the Naval Committee had reported in favor of an impracticable project.

In this first article you assert that it is proposed to carry in each ship on each voyage 4,000 negroes—the fact being that the estimate is 2,500, although it is true that the memorialists proposed to build ships capable of carrying 4,000 *transports*, on their being fitted up in war time for that purpose. The next point is, that the cost of the ships would be considerably below the estimate, and it is inferred that the contractors would pocket the balance.

This blunder proceeds from the erroneous assumption that the Government is to pay for the building of the ships; whereas the truth is, that the contractors are to build them at their own expense, and the Government is only to loan a portion of the money on mortgage, in the same way as it has done to the contractors of the New-York and Liverpool and other lines of mail steamers. All the comments in your article of 20th August are as unfounded as this on the subject of the cost of the ships. Thus the very next objection is that, according to the compensation fixed by the committee—\$40,000 per voyage—the pay will be about \$400 for each letter. This calculation is founded upon the idea that the only postage to be received is for the Liberia mails. The postage on the homeward voyage, via the Mediterranean, Spain, Portugal, France, and England, is reckoned by you at nothing. I, on the contrary, hazard the opinion that this postage will, for the first five years, pay probably half the Government allowance, and afterwards the whole of it.

Your article goes on to object to the terms proposed by the memorialists with respect to the amount to be paid by the Government for the ships if taken for war purposes, and also to the commercial privileges demanded for the steamers in the trade with Liberia. As the price to be paid for the ships, the committee recommend that it should be the actual value, (not in any event, however, to exceed the cost,) and they report against any special commercial privileges, preferring that the remuneration for the services rendered should be direct. Of course the memorialists would have been willing to receive less than \$40,000 per trip, if they had got the privilege asked for; and there can be discovered no reason whatever for the parade made in your article about the portion of the memorial referring to this point.

In the next article (that of the 23d August) you very properly state that the report of the Naval Committee omits the various matters you object to, as above mentioned; but you contend that the line ought not to be established, because the revenue from postage would be a mere nothing. "Who," you ask, "would think of sending letters to the Mediterranean, Spain, France, and England by steamers going to Liberia? The mere suggestion of it exhibits a most lamentable ignorance of the whole course of trade and correspondence of the country, and of the ex-

isting facilities for the latter. Even sailing vessels would take them to all of those points in less time," &c.

Unfortunately for the reproof intended by your charge of "lamentable ignorance," it is not expected that any thing will be received for letters mailed in the United States to go beyond Lisbon; but, upon reaching Liberia, all mail matter for and between the intermediate ports, as far as London and back to the United States, will be conveyed. As to the mails to and from Liberia, the committee look upon them as being so important that no allusion is made to any amount of revenue whatever as expected from that source, although it is probable that the Liberia mails will ere long yield as much or more than the Oregon mails at the present moment. It is easy to conjure up such imaginary propositions, and expose their futility, but it would not be quite so easy to refute the reasoning of the report.

After dwelling upon and enforcing the objection to the conveyance of the mails from the United States to London, &c., via Liberia, you proceed to say that "the same objection, though in a less degree, would exist against any large return mail, when leaving London, either from continental or British correspondents, as a passage from that port would always be longer than from Liverpool, from whence there is already a weekly steamer."

To me it appears, on the contrary, that the steamer leaving London would bring the letters lying at the London post office, even though they could be forwarded two or three days afterwards by the weekly steamer from Liverpool to New York. And no reason can be seen to doubt that these American steamers would bring to London, and to all intermediate ports at which they might stop, the Mediterranean mails ready and waiting at the time of their respective arrivals. They would also bring to this country direct all the mails from the various continental ports.

You are pleased to ridicule the idea that these steamers "should be running from port to port—Gibraltar to Cadiz, Cadiz to Lisbon, Lisbon to Brest, Brest to London;" and you inquire "what quantity or kind of freight could these steamers expect to receive at Gibraltar, Cadiz, Lisbon, and Brest for the United States?" The bare putting of the question shows that you have not carefully considered the whole subject. You might as well ask, what freights can the steamers bring from Bremen or Liverpool? Suppose the ships

run to Havre in lieu of Brest—and the words of the report are to Brest "or some other port of France, to be designated," &c.—would you still inquire what freight could be brought from that port? That is a matter for the consideration of the contractors, and they understand their own interest well enough to go to such ports in France as give them most profits.

You are disposed, sir, to be quite facetious on the subject of the proposed steamers running into so many ports, and suppose that the committee calculate on a "coasting trade" between them. It is quite probable that the contractors would prefer running straight from Liberia to Havre, and thence to New Orleans; but it is part of the great scheme contemplated by the committee to afford additional facilities to our commercial operators with the Mediterranean and the peninsula.

The *Boston Post*, a paper well-informed on commercial questions, observes:

"It is not our communication with the coast of Africa alone that is to be benefited by this line of steamers. The trade of the Mediterranean, yearly increasing in value and importance, is thus to be brought under the influence of steam. Entering the straits of Gibraltar, the line offers an opportunity for American enterprise to connect with the fast and commodious boats fitted to take the circuit from Marseilles to Constantinople and Smyrna, and along the African coast again to Gibraltar. \* \* The value of this trade should not be overlooked. The American and foreign tonnage between this sea and the United States during the last year, entering and clearing, was 208,703 tons. The exports from the United States to this region amounted to \$6,963,601, and, as near as can be ascertained, the imports to \$5,077,110. The equalizing despatch of steam navigation, applied to this trade, must necessarily increase its value to us, and create a new stimulus for its growth there. The benefits to be derived from immediate connexion with this trade can hardly be over-estimated; and where our steamers go, there go our national influences."

A Liverpool company has just been formed to run fifteen steamers on the Mediterranean, some of which are to run up to Constantinople. You will readily see that although an immense trade may be opened up between our country, the Mediterranean, and the peninsula of Europe, great loss would be sustained, in the first instance, by those who might attempt to establish an independent line of ocean

steamers for that purpose. Private individuals would regard solely the existing trade, and not what might be secured after years of toil and loss. Unless, therefore, we avail ourselves of the homeward voyage of these African steamers to lay the foundations of a direct trade with the important points indicated, we may go on for an indefinite period under our present dependence upon the steamships of Great Britain. The committee have, in requiring the African steamers to facilitate our intercourse with the Mediterranean, and with Spain and Portugal, looked at once to the extension and independence of our commerce.

You further observe, sir, that only 7,000 emigrants have gone to Liberia in thirty years, and you inquire where 18,000 per annum are to come from. There is no better answer to this question than to quote the following passage from the report of the Naval Committee itself, which contains a full and satisfactory solution of your difficulty on this point ;

"That the free negroes of the United States will be induced to go in large numbers to Liberia, if a quick and pleasant passage by steam vessels be provided, and suitable preparation be made for them on their arrival, by the Colonization Society, cannot admit of any doubt.

"The funds of that society, augmented probably twenty-fold, will then be available, almost exclusively, for the comfortable establishment of the emigrants in their new homes—the expense of transportation chargeable to the society being merely nominal.

"It is estimated that there are no less than 500,000 free colored people in the several States, and that the annual increase therein of the black race is 70,000 per annum. With respect to slaves who may hereafter be manumitted, no doubt such manumission will almost in every instance be upon the condition that the parties shall avail themselves of the opportunity of emigrating to Liberia.

"The committee do not propose that the emigrants should be landed in Liberia and then left to their own resources. Liberia is at present incapable of receiving and providing shelter, subsistence and employment for any great number of emigrants who may land there in a state of destitution. It has been the practice, heretofore, for the Colonization Society to provide for the colonists whom they have sent out, for six months after their arrival, and the cost of such provision has averag-

ed \$30 per head, in addition to the cost of transportation.

"A large amount of money will be required to settle the colonists in the first instance comfortably in their new homes. But there is no doubt that, if the Government establish the proposed line of steamships, the people of the different states, and the State Legislatures, will at once turn their attention to the subject of colonization, and that large appropriations will be voted and liberal collections made in aid of that object. The State of Maryland has already appropriated and laid out \$200,000 in this work, and the Legislature of Virginia has lately appropriated \$40,000 per year for the same purpose. But these sums are insignificant in comparison with what may be expected if the Government shall give its high sanction to the colonization of Africa, and provide the means of transportation by a line of steamships. In that event, the whole mass of the people, North and South, who for the most part do not appreciate the rapid progress and the high capabilities of Liberia, will quickly discover the vast importance of colonization, and will urge their representatives to adopt measures adequate to the exigency of the case and the magnitude of the enterprise.

"There is good reason to anticipate that important assistance will be rendered to the emigrants, not only by the missionary societies of Europe, but also by those governments which have taken an interest in the suppression of the slave trade, and which are desirous of opening channels for their commerce, and marts for their manufactures, on the western coast of Africa.

"It is estimated that by the time when the first two ships are to be finished and ready for sea, there will be a large body of emigrants ready to take passage in them, and that for the next two years each ship will take from 1,000 to 1,500 passengers on each voyage, or from 8,000 to 12,000 in each of those years. To furnish each family, intending to devote themselves to agricultural pursuits, with a dwelling-house suitably furnished, and a piece of land of sufficient extent cleared and planted, together with the necessary agricultural implements and a stock of provisions, will, it is calculated, cost the society a sum equal to \$30 or \$40 per head for each emigrant, allowing each family to consist of five persons. The cost of establishing families intending to follow trading and mechanical pursuits will be somewhat less



than the above estimate for agricultural families; but the average cost for the whole of the emigrants may be estimated at \$50 per head, including all the expenses of transportation; making a total of from \$100,000 to \$600,000 per annum for the first two years.

"As the colony increases in population, and the interior of the country becomes settled, any number of emigrants that may be sent out will be readily absorbed, as there will be a demand for all kinds of laborers, mechanics, and domestic servants, and it will be unnecessary to make that provision for them which is now indispensable.

"The Colonization Society will, as heretofore, so regulate the emigration as to send out only suitable persons, and keep up a due proportion between the two sexes."

But you contend, sir, that these ships "must relinquish all hopes of having white passengers, even on their return trips from London. Not only would the apprehension of disease prevent respectable persons from embarking in vessels which so recently had been occupied as '*negro-pens*,' but the whole interior arrangements—berths and state-rooms—must be on a different plan for the accommodation of such outward-bound passengers."

The design of the contractors it is believed, is to bring *second-class emigrants* from London, and, with a proper attention to cleanliness, &c., no objection would be likely to arise from that quarter. As to the accommodation of the colored emigrants, a four thousand-ton ship could accommodate very comfortably, and without the use of "*negro-pens*," as many as contemplated by the committee.

In your third and last article on this subject, you endeavor to show differences in material points between the action of the British government, in establishing lines of mail steamers to different parts of the world, and the proposed action of our own government. In the first place, it is observed that the British government "makes no advances towards building the vessels, all of which are constructed at the exclusive cost and risk of the proprietors; and on certain conditions as to the size, construction, and kind of vessels, the government agrees to pay certain specified sums for the conveyance of the mails by them." In this you have been misinformed; for I have satisfactory evidence that the British government did advance money to assist in building the West India mail steamers.

But were you correct, the only difference in the two cases would be that our government is called upon to loan its credit, payable thirty years after date; the loans to be expended on the ships, under the superintendence of a government constructor—such loans to be advanced from time to time as the building of the ships progresses, and to be secured by a lien on them, according to the precedent established in the contracts made under the act of Congress passed in 1847. To this no valid objection can be seen. The fact that British capitalists are rich enough to require no such assistance is perfectly immaterial to us. The single question is, whether the government would sustain any loss by making such advances; and, believing that it would not, this mode of encouraging the enterprise seems to be without objection.

Proceeding further with the parallel between the project in question and the British government contracts, you observe that the whole of the British lines "greatly facilitate the commercial operations of Great Britain, and afford vast and valuable facilities in every way."

Now, for the purpose of securing the like important advantages to this country, should we not favor the establishment of the proposed line, as recommended by the Naval Committee—and although the subject of colonization may be regarded as of paramount importance, involving as it does the abolition of the slave-trade, the diffusion of Christianity and civilization throughout the continent of Africa, and the emigration of a class of persons whose presence is not too desirable in our country—the commercial reasons above may be deemed sufficient for the project in question.

Speaking of the British lines, you further say:

"These lines, at the present moment, fully reimburse the Government for all their outlay by the receipts for the postage alone, and the Cunard line affords even a very large surplus to the revenue."

Although the Cunard line may at the present time yield a surplus, enjoying as it does, and will for a short time longer, almost a monopoly of the postage between England and the United States, yet it is by no means true that all the lines fully reimburse the government. The West India line, for example, is very expensive, and the postage but trifling. Again: a contract has lately been entered into for

a line from England to Brazil, and no one can suppose that the postage will pay one twentieth part of the government expenses. Indeed, it appears that the postage is quite a secondary consideration with the British government in entering into these contracts. The principal objects are the creation of a reserved steam navy to be called into the public service when required, and in the mean time to afford those facilities to commercial operations which you seem to admire so much when the country to be benefitted is Great Britain, but cannot see their importance to our own. The truth is, that no country can afford to keep in actual service a very great number of war steamers—the expenses are enormous; and hence even England resorts to a cheap mode of providing and using, in time of peace, these formidable instruments of war. The regular steam navy of France is almost equal to that of England: but the latter places full reliance, and no doubt with good reason, upon her fleets of war steamers carrying mails.

Upon this subject there is a great difference of opinion between yourself and the British government.

You think it best to postpone the building of war-steamers until the exigency for their use actually arrives. You think, too, that great and expensive alterations would be required to convert mail-steamers into war-steamers, if the change could be effected at all, which you seem to doubt. You speak of the rapidity with which ships were built on the lakes in the last war, and think that ocean war-steamers could be got ready as soon. On the other hand, the opinion of the British government is, that it is expedient to establish lines of mail-steamers wherever important facilities can be afforded to commercial operations, such ships being built so as to be easily convertible into war-steamers. It is to be expected that the engineers, firemen, and crews will, for the most part, remain with the ships when they shall be called into the public service, and no doubt this expectation is well founded. England has upwards of one hundred and twenty war-steamers afloat carrying mails, and she is constantly increasing the number. These ships are strongly built, and well adapted to purposes of war; and although you seem to consider that those noble ships—the Ohio and Georgia—are not so, yet I have too much faith in the Government constructor, under whose inspection they were built, to

attach any importance to that opinion.—We have the report, too, of Commodore Perry, who was intrusted by the Navy Department with the general superintendence of this business, that these vessels, as well as the Atlantic and Pacific, can, at a small expense, be converted into war-steamers. I willingly set such opinions against those you have expressed, and confidently maintain that we can build war-steamers—using them to carry the mails in time of peace—just as easily and as well as Great Britain.

You think that we do not want any more mail-steamers, and contend that “the United States have, in fact, already established American steamers upon all the routes in which they have any interest.” So that, although the British have interest enough in Brazil, for example, to authorize the establishment of a line of government steamers, this country has no such interest, and we must quietly and submissively look on, whilst Great Britain is monopolizing the richest commerce in all parts of the world. As to any interference of ours with the Mediterranean trade, you would regard it as impertinent in the highest degree; and yet I can inform you that the Turkish Sultan has even now sent an ambassador to our shores, part of whose business is that of contracting for the construction of a line of steamers to navigate the Mediterranean from Constantinople, with which the line proposed by the Naval Committee may readily connect.

But you tell us, sir, that private enterprise is all sufficient to compete everywhere with steamships supported by the pay and patronage of the British government. If that doctrine had prevailed, we should have remained in a state of dependence upon England for the transmission of our European mails, and the British would have monopolized all the light and valuable freight from Europe to this country.

In further discussing this part of the subject you observe that “if Great Britain is to be quoted for an example, it will be time enough for us to run a line to Africa when she has established one to that quarter.” It strikes me, sir, that Great Britain has not the same reasons for establishing a line to Western Africa that we have. She has no colored population whom it is desirable to colonize there, nor could the ships on their return to England enjoy the advantages which our proposed line will possess on the homeward voyage

to the United States, conveying as they will do, emigrants from the great capital of the British empire to our various ports on the Atlantic seaboard. Here, too, it may be observed, that a cheap passage by steamships from England to this country will induce the emigration of a class of persons better conditioned than those who come over in the steerage of sailing ships, but who still cannot afford the expense of a cabin passage, amounting to a considerable sum when the family consists of several persons.

But although Great Britain has none of the reasons for establishing a line of mail-steamers to Western Africa which have induced the Naval Committee to recommend an American line to that quarter, still we find that the English government has actually resolved to put on a line of steamers from London to the Cape of Good Hope and the western coast of Africa; so that you may be now called upon to acknowledge from your own admissions and course of reasoning, that it is now time for us also to enjoy like commercial facilities, especially as we can reap all the advantages of the trade by merely making a deviation consuming a few days on the outward voyage to Europe.

With respect to the suppression of the slave trade, you contend, sir, that the steamers, by merely going to Liberia, could not be a substitute for our blockading squadrons, and you assume that the committee expected to put down that traffic by the mere appearance of the steamers on the coast of Africa. The committee entertained no such idea, but speak as follows on this important topic:—

“The committee believe it is expedient to aid private enterprise in the colonization of the western coast of Africa, because it is the most effectual, if not the only mode of extirpating the slave trade. The success of this measure will doubtless render the African squadron wholly unnecessary, thus reimbursing a large portion of the expense attending it, and at the same time better accomplishing the object for which that squadron is maintained. It may be expedient for some one of the great naval powers to keep a small force on the coast of Africa to protect Liberia, for a limited time, against the slave traders. But the attempt to suppress this unlawful traffic by blockading the coast has so signally failed, that it will probably soon be abandoned by the great European powers. While the influence of the republic of Liberia has been shown in the complete suppression of the trade along a coast of several

hundred miles in length, the combined squadrons of Europe and America have not been so successful on other portions of that unhappy shore. In 1847 no less than 84,356 slaves were exported from Africa to Cuba and Brazil. In the opinion of the committee, it is highly important to prevent the further Africanizing of the American continents. An opposite movement, so far as the free blacks are concerned, is far more in accordance with the spirit of the age, and with the best interests of all American governments. The people of the United States have shown their strong aversion to the slave trade by the provision in their Constitution against it, and by their unremitting and vigorous efforts to suppress it. The success which has already crowned the infancy of Liberia indicates the true mode of making those exertions effectual, while it opens up the way for restoring the free blacks to the native land of their fathers.”

The opinion is strongly entertained that not only will the postage revenue meet the greater part of the expenses of the Government upon this line of steamers, but the whole expense of maintaining our squadron on the coast of Africa will ere long be avoided, for there can be no doubt that when the other great powers discover that the true mode of suppressing the slave trade is by planting civilized colonies on the African coast, that encouragement will be afforded on a great scale, and the blockading squadrons will be rendered useless, and, as suggested by the committee, nothing more will be required than a few cruisers to protect the colonists for a limited period.

As to the commerce with Africa, you are of opinion that the committee ought only to have spoken of the existing trade of Liberia; but in this you deliberately suppress the universally admitted fact that Liberia is “the door of Africa,” and that the Liberians having constitutions adapted to the climate, and being of the same color and race as the natives, will penetrate the country with safety, and prosecute their trade on an extensive scale. The coffee, dye-woods, gums, indigo, ginger, arrowroot, ivory, gold-dust, &c., will be exchanged by the natives for coarse cotton goods, and other articles, which can readily be manufactured in the Mississippi valley, and shipped by the New Orleans steamer to Liberia. The slave trade suppressed, the natives will be stimulated to the arts of peace, and, moreover, the emigrants themselves will be good customers for everything wanted by civilized man. There will be a brisk demand for agricultural implements—for articles of clothing, furni-



ture, &c.—a large part of which will also be shipped by way of New Orleans.

It is a reasonable expectation that Africa will be the great customer, if not the main stay and support, of the infant cotton manufactures of the South; for it is plain that a great demand can be created in Africa, through the medium of the Liberia traders, for articles which can be manufactured more advantageously in the South than in any other part of the Union. The North may retain for years its superiority in the manufacture of the finer fabrics; but those goods which can be most readily disposed of in Africa, can be made cheaper in the cotton-growing regions than elsewhere, and a market for them will be opened up by the colonization of Liberia, and the facilities afforded by steamers to commercial operations in that quarter.

There is another consideration worthy of notice: the ships will be at liberty to touch at any of the West India Islands. This right will probably be exercised, as from some of those islands freight can be obtained for Europe. American influence will be extended in those islands by the periodical presence there of these mammoth steamers, and by the creation of new sources of commerce between them and the continents of Europe and America.

It seems certain that New Orleans cannot yet be connected with Europe by steamers in any other way so advantageously as in that proposed by the Committee. Ocean steamers are too expensive for the New Orleans trade alone; but one of these steamers can be required to run direct from London and Havre to New Orleans, bringing the light and valuable fabrics of France and England to that city, as well as passengers for the South and West. Cabins, too, can be fitted up for a few first class passengers. Invalids, desirous of going to Madeira and the shores of the Mediterranean, can avail themselves of these, as well as the people of the South, returning from Europe. And here, sir, you will perceive that the report of the Naval Committee has actually anticipated the enterprise of steam communication between New Orleans and Havre, which, I find by your paper of the 3d instant, is now occupying the attention of our fellow-citizens in New Orleans, though in a mode far less adequate to the wants of our city than that proposed by the committee.

Permit me, sir, here to notice an objection which I have heard against the establishment of this line of steamers, but which is not presented in your elaborate attack

upon the project—namely, that Congress has no power to grant aid directly or indirectly to the cause of colonization. Now, assuming, for the sake of the argument, that proposition be sound, let us inquire whether Congress would be exceeding its powers by encouraging a line of steamers, with the actual *bona fide* intention of creating a reserved steam navy, establishing a profitable postal connection, and, in addition to these important measures, providing an efficient substitute for our blockading squadron on the coast of Africa.

I apprehend, sir, that if a line of steamers of the size proposed were established between this country and the Mediterranean, they would have to go out in ballast, if not permitted to make a *detour* by which they could secure the passenger traffic at the disposal of the Colonization Society, and the trade in coarse goods, agricultural implements, furniture, &c., for the colony of Liberia and the western coast generally.

*Congress will not, by authorizing a contract to be made with the proposed company for the conveyance of mails to the Mediterranean, and thence through the Peninsula, France, and England to this country, be paying one dollar even indirectly for the encouragement of colonization; on the contrary, the contractors, no doubt, would require the same amount of pay to go direct to Gibraltar.*

But although the public revenue will not *pay* any thing towards the running of the steamers to Liberia, the fact that the cause of colonization will be greatly advanced by these ships ought, it is conceived, to influence Congress to grant the permission to the contractors to deviate from the direct route. Leaving the colonization part of the project entirely out of view, it is conceived that Congress would act wisely in authorizing a contract for three or four mammoth steamers to run to Gibraltar, and thence to Cadiz, Lisbon, Havre and London, not because the postage will at once pay the expenses, but because, in the first place, we want a large number of war-steamers carrying mails, and could not find a better route than this—none calculated to afford greater facilities to commerce—none which would interfere so little with private enterprise. Besides, in all mail contracts there are other considerations than the mere question of revenue; otherwise, hundreds of districts would have no mail at all. The convenience of the public has to be regarded, and it is a legitimate object in contracts for the conveyance of mails by sea to secure incidentally facilities for passengers and commerce.

With respect to the amount demanded by the contractors for the proposed service, it will be observed that, according to the estimates of the Naval Committee, the contractors must make nearly sixty thousand dollars each voyage, besides the mail pay and the receipts from the Colonization Society, to realize even as much as six per cent. interest on their capital. Most of the ocean mail steamer contracts are under the management of the Navy Department; so that we may presume that the committee understand this part of the subject. We may infer from these figures that no responsible persons would be willing to perform the service at a lower rate, and it would seem to me that the Government ought not to wish to screw down the parties who, to use the words of the committee, "have had the sagacity to conceive, and who have the ability faithfully to carry out this noble project," to terms which would leave them little or no chance of deriving a reasonable profit from the enterprise.

The advantages of this line are so numerous and so vast, that, in my opinion, nothing is required but discussion on the subject to awaken public attention. The more the matter is examined, the more the project will commend itself to the business men of New Orleans, and to all intelligent minds. No serious objection, it seems to me, is presented to the recommendations of the committee, whilst the publication of such remarks as those you have presented affords the friends of the measure a desirable opportunity of discussion. Of this they are always ready to avail themselves, and have no fear of the result.

I trust that, after further investigation, your sagacity will perceive that New Orleans will be benefited by the proposed measure more than any other city in the Union. She cannot have a direct communication to Europe by steamships in any other way. She will be the principal port for the export of goods to the African market. She will receive thousands of well conditioned emigrants from Europe, and she will be greatly benefited by the emigration of free colored persons. And, in this connection, it may be proper to observe, that the interests of the colored emigrants have been carefully guarded by the committee, in restraining the company from charging them more than ten dollars for each adult, and five dollars for each child, rations and transportation of baggage being included. In this particular the project differs from other contracts, as they contain no such limitation, and this difference, I apprehend,

will not serve to render the scheme objectionable, but, on the contrary, make it more acceptable to all persons in every section of our country; though, no doubt, the company would prefer to be without restriction in this particular.

Nor are the citizens of New Orleans indifferent to the great national considerations involved in this subject—the creation of an efficient steam navy in reserve, the abolition of the slave trade by the colonization of the African coast, and the diffusion of Christianity and civilization over that continent.

THOMAS J. DURANT,  
of New Orleans.

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### LETTER FROM THE REV. R. R. GURLEY,

CHAPLAIN OF THE U. S. SENATE, IN FAVOR  
OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PRO-  
POSED LINE OF STEAMERS.

WASHINGTON, Oct. 10, 1850.

MY DEAR SIR :—Anxious, thought for many years on the subject of African colonization, and all my observations during my recent visit to the Republic of Liberia, have led me to the conclusion, that no higher duty is imposed by Providence upon the Government of the United States, than that of encouraging and aiding the voluntary establishment of our free people of color on the African coast. Whether we regard their interests or our own, reasons, numerous, various, and full of beneficence, are suggested for their emigration to the land of their fathers. The greatest of these reasons is undoubtedly the good to be accomplished, through their influence and labors, in the civilization of Africa, a work the mightiest and the most honorable which remains to be accomplished in the progress of the human race.

The establishment of the line of steamers which you contemplate, under the auspices of the United States Government, will be among the most sure and efficient means that can be devised in the promotion of this vast and most benevolent enterprise, by making known to our free people of color the rich and unbounded inheritance of honor, wealth, liberty and general prosperity which is open to them in Africa, by disclosing to the American people the motives which should dispose them to assist their emigration, thus uniting the sentiments of the white and colored races in the United States in a scheme advantageous to both, limited in its benefits to neither, but

encompassing in its philanthropy one entire quarter of the world, and that the most miserable, and certainly, if less directly, all her dispersed and afflicted children.

Having become personally acquainted with the climate, soil, resources, people, government of the Republic of Liberia, I feel assured that the diffusion of correct information in regard to that country will increase ten-fold the interest now felt by the white and colored races in the United States, in the destiny of that free, independent, and Christian State. There, will it soon be seen, is the inviting field for the intelligence, the enterprise, the energy, the philanthropy, and the renown of the sons of Africa; and with them once there established as a virtuous, industrious, agricultural, and commercial people, our only rivalry will be which shall most excel in offices of good will, which derive largest advantages from the interchange of commodities, and the reciprocation of those benefits which ever mutually attend the friendly commercial intercourse of nations. I cannot believe that our Government will long withhold its favor from Liberia, or hesitate to adopt efficient measures to aid such of our free people of color as may aspire to an unembarrassed position, and the distinction of becoming benefactors to their race, in securing a free, happy, and honorable home within its limits.

I have the honor to be, my dear Sir,

Very faithfully yours,

R. R. GURLEY.

GEORGE N. SANDERS, Esq.

## THE CONDITION AND PROSPECTS OF LIBERIA.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT OF LIBERIA, DATED MONROVIA, SEPT. 27, 1850, IN FAVOR OF THE PROJECT, AND SHOWING THE PROSPERITY OF THE COLONY.

[From the N. Y. Tribune.]

MY DEAR SIR: I thank you for your esteemed favors of the 26th and 29th June; I assure you that I fully appreciate all you say with respect to the energy and enterprise which should characterize the people of Liberia to insure them complete success. I am aware that many of our best friends in the United States have long entertained and some still entertain, fears that the great work in which we are engaged, after all the wonderful success which has hitherto attended our efforts,

and the encouraging prospects now before us, may possibly, for the want of industry and energy, and a determination on the part of the people here to succeed, prove a failure. I, too, have had fears in this respect.

But I am happy to be able to say that within the last few years these fears have altogether subsided. The time was when the people here gave too much of their time and attention to petty trading with the natives, neglecting almost totally the more certain and safe means of acquiring permanent happiness and independence—I mean the cultivation of the soil. This, however, was an evil which has happily cured itself, and at present an altogether different state of things prevails. Agriculture everywhere throughout the commonwealth is receiving more attention. Really there is an air of comfort, contentment and happiness among the people settled along the banks of the river and in the interior villages that is truly pleasing to witness. Our prospects were never more flattering and encouraging than they are at present. In addition to the attention which is now given to agriculture, it is gratifying to know that the public are more than ever concerned about education, and the means of securing it to their children, and this feeling is rapidly extending itself among our aboriginal inhabitants. They are daily sending in their children "to be taught book and learn Merica man fash and God palaver." All this is exceedingly gratifying. Liberia is certainly going ahead, and if a good Providence will continue to guide and direct us, we may reasonably hope that Liberia will attain what you look forward to—a powerful Republican Government that will in all that constitutes *true glory*, rival the United States of America—and that both nations, either acting together or in a generous rivalry of good works, may be the means of civilizing and christianizing the world, especially benighted Africa.

I rejoice to notice that Colonization is rapidly gaining favor in the United States, and that Liberia is more and more attracting attention. I have, indeed, been interested in perusing the papers you were good enough to send me. In "*The New York Tribune*," I noticed several articles on the subject of Colonization that pleased me very much.

I am pleased to find that Judge Bryan's scheme to establish a line of steamships between the United States and Liberia finds favor at Washington; and that the



Committee on Naval Affairs, of the House of Representatives, have agreed to report in favor of it. Such a line of steamships will unquestionably give a new and mighty impulse to colonization, and will greatly increase the commercial interests of both countries."

#### LETTER FROM J. McDONOGH, Esq.

OF NEW ORLEANS, TO THE REV. R. R. GURLEY, ON THE SUBJECT OF COLONIZATION, WITH MR. GURLEY'S REMARKS ON THE SAME.

*To the Editors of the National Intelligencer:—*

WASHINGTON, Aug. 12, 1850.

GENTLEMEN: I cannot doubt that it will afford you pleasure to publish the following excellent letter from my venerable friend, JOHN McDONOGH, Esq., of New Orleans, who has for many years given, by uninterrupted efforts and munificent donations, the best possible evidence of his interest and zeal in the cause of African civilization:—

NEW ORLEANS, June 10, 1850.

DEAR SIR: A thousand thanks for your goodness, in giving me the pleasing information you have communicated in your letter of the sixth March last, in relation to Liberia, and her prospects in general, and to the people who, in the providence of God, I had some little instrumentality in assisting to reach their fatherland, in particular. If I have not acknowledged the receipt of your highly esteemed favor at a more early day, (for it reached me in due course of mail,) it was because I was incapacitated by sickness from addressing you. I have had lately an attack of rheumatism, from which indeed I am suffering at this moment. For the last twelve months, however, I have not enjoyed my accustomed feelings of health, having been ill at my ease, without being sick. I imputed it to the closing of the seventieth year of my age, (generally a critical period of a man's life.) Whether that was the cause or not, I cannot say; at any rate, with you, sir, I am assured in advance, it will be accepted as a sufficient apology in not having sooner addressed you.

I heard of your departure for Africa, and your return to your native land, with feelings of great satisfaction and joy, knowing that the grand object of your

existence on earth (like your prototype, St. Paul) was the honor of God, and, consequently, the benefit and salvation of your fellow men; and that, wherever you moved, His honor and glory would be promoted by you.

Your opinion of Liberia, and her prospects filled my heart with joy; and I agree fully with you, sir, "that the scheme of African colonization is one of vast beneficence, meriting the earnest and liberal support of the whole American people;" and Liberia will, as you observe, attract to her bosom a large portion of the free colored population of our country. She must also receive, in time, and that time is not far distant, the slave population of the South, manumitted and sent to their fatherland by their owners. God, in his mercy, is preparing the means and the way. A few years more, and white labor in our country (from the natural as well as foreign increase of our population) will be as cheap as it is now in France and Italy. Whenever that is the case, (and it has been going down lower and lower for many years past,) the slaveholder will not retain his slaves, will not agree to keep and support them, but will drive them away, as white labor will then cost less than it would require to feed, clothe, and lodge his slaves; besides being in other ways more profitable.

The account you give me, sir, of the moral and religious character of those people whom I assisted to get to Liberia, and of their happiness and prosperity there, affords me great joy. My first great object in assisting them to reach that country was the honor of our Lord and Master. To that end I strove to instruct and prepare them, through a long series of years, day and night, and had them instructed in the knowledge of Him and his righteous law. To know then, sir, that they are laboring in his Divine cause, with a holy and pious zeal, fills my soul with delight and thankfulness to him, the glorious Author of all.

Can you inform me, sir, how and why it is that the missionary societies of our country look with apathy or coldness (if I may so say) on that vast field of labor, which is white for the reaping, heathen Africa, and send no helping hand, no laborers to the harvest. Why, sir, are they not engaged in educating and preparing hundreds, and thousands even, (if possible,) of pious blacks and colored men for the ministry, for the African field, seeing that the climate is fatal to the white man?



Were seminaries established for that purpose, where the black and colored man could be educated for the ministry, and supported free of expense, and advertisement thereof made, I doubt not hundreds would respond to the call, in a cause the most glorious of earth.

Will the Government of the United States do nothing in the way of an appropriation of money—say, a half million of dollars annually, during ten or twenty years—to assist in transporting the free blacks and colored population of the United States to their fatherland? The time, I should think, was a favorable one for pressing the subject on the attention of Congress; more especially, as that great, virtuous, and good man, General Taylor, (who, without any information or knowledge of his opinions or views on the subject, I doubt not, is favorably disposed towards it—for his heart is the seat of every noble, every benevolent affection,) is in the Presidency. What subject is there, sir, after that of the Union, which interests more the American people than this? A special message on the subject to Congress, from the President, recommending at the same time the independence of the Liberian Republic, and the forming of a commercial treaty with her, would, I have no doubt, be acceded to by that body, and a law passed in conformity.

I perceive, sir, in your interesting addresses, delivered before the New York State Colonization Society, lately, and before the American Colonization Society, on the 15th of January last, in Washington, that you advocate as a form of government best suited to Liberia, that of a consolidated republic, in preference to a federal one, or union of states. You will excuse me, sir, if I mention this—it is not done to express an opinion, but merely to express my fears. The object of you and myself is the same—the happiness and prosperity of that people. You have reflected on the subject, and studied the people, their position, and situation; I have not. But, as you observe, sir, she is destined to become a powerful nation, and to extend her sway over a great portion of that continent. In her present state of weakness, and for a length of time, no doubt the most simple form for her would be consolidation; but in time, when her limits will be greatly extended by annexation, and her population increased by millions, and tens of millions, (for ambition fires the breast of the black man, as it

does that of the white,) would it not be found necessary to satisfy her ambitious men to have other high posts of honor, such as we possess in our different State governments, of governors, lieutenant governors, State senators, representatives, &c. &c.? or would not their consolidated government be driven to the alternative of keeping up large standing armies, with all their certain and inevitable dangers? I have been taught to believe that the safety and perpetuity of our glorious republic depended (under God) upon our federative system, the honors of our State governments acting as escape pipes for the high steam of our ambitious men to go off by and evaporate, without endangering the body politic. You, sir, who have studied man as he is, and reflected much and deeply on the subject, do you believe that our happy republic would have descended from our Revolution to the present day under a consolidated form, without shocks, attempts at revolution, or a large standing army?

With every wish for your health and happiness, and that of your family, I am, sir, with great respect,

Your friend and obed't serv't,

JOHN McDONOGH.

To the Rev. R. R. GURLEY.

—  
It was my privilege, during my recent mission to Liberia, to visit, at their own houses, on the bank of the St. Paul's, and in other settlements, many families, who were indebted to the long-continued and most judicious labors of Mr. McDonogh for their freedom, and for ability to make such freedom a blessing to themselves, their posterity, and their race. From their own lips I heard warm expressions of gratitude to their benefactor, as well as of the confidence that the hopes with which his counsels had inspired them would be realized, and that the independent republic of which they are now citizens would speedily rise to respectability and honorable influence among the free and Christian states of the world.

And here I may remark, that the interview which I was permitted to enjoy with the late lamented and illustrious President of the United States, (about two weeks before his death,) was sought by me for the sole purpose of reading to him a few sentences from this letter of Mr. McDonogh, in the sentiments of which, so far as they related to the propriety of the action of the Government to advance the interest of Liberia, I was gratified to know, from his

own emphatic declarations, that he fully concurred, and that he was prepared at a suitable time to recommend to Congress to consider the design of African colonization and civilization, as most important to two races of men and two quarters of the globe.

Every believer in Divine origin of Christianity will find it impossible to doubt that the present relations between the white and colored races, on this continent, are intended by the benevolent Ruler of the world to result in good to both, and that this nation occupies a situation, and is endowed with the amplest means and most efficient agencies, for imparting her liberty and arts, her letters and religion, to the people of Africa. Surely, of all our interests as individuals, or as a nation, during this being and uncertain existence on earth, none can compare in importance, honor, or renown, to the interests of BENEFICENCE; and far beyond all our desires for wealth and power, for increased dominion and the glory of arms, should be those communicating our inestimable blessings to the less unfortunate and favored communities of mankind. If a knowledge of the Divine Law, and the power of imitating its benevolence, impose obligations upon any people, the people of this country, and especially of our Southern States, are bound by the highest obligations of duty to deliver Africa from her miseries, and to bestow upon her the gift of good government, and the still more precious blessings of the Word of Eternal Life. For what has the Almighty Ruler of the world exalted us, but that we should be a nation to serve Him; that his holy spirit of goodwill to men should animate and influence our hearts; that we should become the ministers of his will, of his light, and love, to all the dwellers in darkness; that we should teach them to walk in his counsels, celebrate his worship, and sound forth his praise; that we should thus enrich the most destitute, and ennoble the most degraded, and making them partakers of an invincible Faith and an immortal Hope? The great political questions which now so agitate the public mind are inferior in importance to that of our duty, as one united nation of Christians, to God, his truth, and to the human race. Nor should this greater question be ever left forgotten or obscure in our consideration of the less.

And here may I be allowed to suggest, as among the high duties of our Government—

That of extending all its influences with the civilized powers of the world, to induce them to make the African slave-trade piracy by common consent and universal law.

To aid the Republic of Liberia in maintaining its Government, and extending its territory, authority, and influence.

To encourage lawful commerce with Africa, as amongst the most sure, rapid, and powerful means of her civilization.

To assist worthy free persons of color who may desire to emigrate to Liberia, in establishing themselves in that Republic; thus introducing them to hopes and immunities not to be surpassed, and enabling them to become reformers, guides and benefactors of the native population of Africa.

The Congress of Liberia, by joint resolutions of both Houses, has requested the President to appoint a citizen of the United States to represent their condition and necessities to the American people, and to make an appeal on their behalf to individuals, and to the Governments of the States and the Union, for the means of enlarging their territory, and extending the benefits of their institutions. That funds are greatly needed to enable the Government of Liberia to increase its territory, to explore the country, and ascertain its productions and resources, to negotiate treaties with many, and in some cases with remote African tribes, to maintain schools for its own and a more numerous native population, and to diffuse a knowledge of the useful arts and improved systems of agriculture is certain. That donations bestowed for any one, or for all these objects, will be faithfully applied, I have no doubt. To the very sensible and forcible remarks of my respected friend in regard to the federal system, and its value in our experience, I will not now attempt to reply, but merely say that, for the present, and as I imagine for years to come, one simple undivided Government in Liberia will conduce more effectually to the peace, harmony, and prosperity of the people, than a system embracing various State Governments, united like our own in one confederated Republic.

I have the honor to be gentlemen, most respectfully, your friend and obedient servant,

R. R. GURLEY.

## EXTRACT FROM THE WILL OF MR. McDONOGH.

BEQUEATHING ONE-EIGHTH PART OF THE  
RENTS OF HIS ESTATE TO THE AMERICAN  
COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

"Firstly, I give and bequeath to the American Colonization Society, for colonizing the free people of color of the United States, established at the City of Washington, in the district of Columbia, for the purposes of its noble and philanthropic institution, an annuity for the term of forty years, counting from and after the day of my decease, of the one-eighth part, or twelve and a half per cent. of the net yearly revenue of rents of the whole of the estate, as hereinbefore willed and bequeathed unto the Mayors, Aldermen and inhabitants of the cities of New Orleans and Baltimore, but which one-eighth part of the net yearly revenue of rents of said estate, as aforesaid, shall not entitle the said American Colonization Society, for Colonizing the free people of color of the United States, to receive or demand, in any one year, a larger sum than twenty-five thousand dollars, should the one-eighth part thereof amount to a larger sum; trusting in full confidence that the inhabitants of this free and happy land, throughout all its borders, from Maine to Louisiana, will sustain this institution—one of the greatest glories of our country—and enable it to accomplish its humane and holy object in its full extent."

## "BUT WILL THEY GO?"

EXTRACT FROM THE LEADING ARTICLE OF  
THE AFRICAN REPOSITORY AND COLONIAL  
JOURNAL FOR OCTOBER, 1850, (THE OFFICIAL  
ORGAN OF THE COLONIZATION SOCIETY,) ON THE QUESTION WHETHER THE  
FREE COLORED PEOPLE WILL EMIGRATE  
TO LIBERIA:

"*But will they go?* That depends very much upon circumstances. Who are *they*? What are they doing where they are? What influences are brought to bear upon them? Have they a will and a conscience? Have they susceptibilities to feel and power to appreciate? Is their present condition as good as they desire it to be? Is there any prospect that in their present situation they ever can reach that point which is the true and lawful aim of a generous and noble spirit?

What answer can be given to these questions?

The condition of the free colored people in this country is well understood. They are among us, but they are not of us.—They are no part of the social or political state. They are beset on every hand with obstacles resulting in part from things inherent in their very existence, and in part, from the great superiority in wealth, intelligence, and position of those with whom they come in contact and have to compete.

They are never the less *men*. They have *intellects* which can be made to see and understand the nature of things.—They have *hearts* to feel the influence of the motives which are presented to them. They have *wills* to choose between the good and the bad, between the high and honorable road which leads to their individual elevation and that of their entire race, and the more beaten track of the uneducated and depressed crowd.

These things being true, it follows that they *can* be made rightly to appreciate the superior advantages of a residence in Liberia, to remaining in this country, and that they can be induced to act accordingly.

We shall not here stop to show that Liberia is the right place for them; that it possesses advantages far superior to any other place; that there is no other place in this or any other country which can be at all compared to it! These things are true, as we have shown and proved them to be a thousand times. We here take them for granted. There is not the slightest doubt that personally, individually and socially, Liberia is the place for them. As parents, with children depending upon them and ultimately to leave behind them in this world, Liberia is the place for them. If they have any desire to *do good* as well as to get good, Liberia is the place for them. If they desire to aid in elevating their race, with a grandeur and power unsurpassed, Liberia is the place for them.

But Liberia is a great way off. They cannot see it—they cannot hear it—they cannot touch it. In their minds clouds and darkness are round about it, and whether storm or sunshine would be their portion there, is an undecided question, or if decided at all, decided in favor of the darkness.

Is there any process by which you can place to their eye some long telescope through which they can see Liberia living and moving before them day after day? by which their heart shall be energized and brought in contact with the great heart of Liberia, to feel its quick and life-like



pulsations, and to share its noble and generous ambition! Yes, there is. The task will be difficult, but it can be done. Time and patience and perseverance will be required, but the result will be sure and the reward great.

How have other men been induced to change their place, their country? They have been convinced that thereby they might advantage themselves. Who would have believed that the well-nested inhabitants of the old world would in such numbers and for so many years, follow the Mayflower Pilgrims to this western Continent! And yet the *half* has not been told them. Who can doubt that the rush to the United States from all the countries of Europe would be tremendous, could the poor and depressed there have their eyes enlarged and their visions elongated sufficiently to take in and understand the whole of our great country and the bright and broad opening prospects presented to them here! There is no measuring the impression which would be produced upon them. The story of the Irishman who was afraid to write home that he had meat every day in the week, lest his friends should consider him crazy, is familiar to all. And yet with the imperfect knowledge which they have, they come, one would suppose, sufficiently fast, to satisfy the most eager.

But the difference between their condition *there* and *here*, is not greater than the difference between the condition of the colored people *here* and in *Liberia*.

Here then is the one thing which must be done;—*the colored people must be made acquainted with the real state of things in Liberia, and made to understand the full prospect held out to them there.*

The means by which this is to be done are very simple. A good friend of theirs and ours in Norfolk, Va., the pastor of a colored church there, last spring commenced speaking to some of his people about Liberia; he continued to impart information to them until July, when he had the pleasure of accompanying *twenty-five* of them on board the Liberia Packet and seeing them sail for Liberia. They are a fine, intelligent company of people. To induce them to go, he did what every other person similarly situated can do, and no more. He told them the truth;—he answered their objections; he counseled them about their outfit; he helped them to settle up their affairs; he encouraged them to be of good cheer; and he let them

see that he felt a real interest in them and thoroughly desired their welfare!

Who can doubt that a like course pursued by the pastors of the many churches in Virginia, would produce like results, and as a consequence, an emigration of thousands of the very best free colored people in the State would take place. It would not cost much to make the effort.—A little thought, a little reading, a little time, and a great deal of sympathy, would do it. Thereby many pastors of said churches would lose some of their best members. But they would not *feel* the loss. The blessings of heaven would come so richly on the movement as to more than supply the place of all who would leave, on so holy a mission.

We therefore appeal to the pastors aforesaid, to take this matter in hand in good earnest. Is it not a work worthy of your talents and your zeal? Does it not claim your noblest efforts, and is it not urgent in its demands, not willing to be put off, and utterly adverse to be entirely neglected?

Another process by which the colored people can be induced to go is, to *make the communication between Liberia and this country quick and easy*. This is very important. To accomplish it, we look to the proposed line of STEAMSHIPS. They will reduce the length of the passage to about *fourteen* days; and will present the very finest accommodations. They are to possess every requisite for comfort, speed and safety, which the ingenuity of man can desire, and the advanced state of the arts execute! It cannot be doubted that the establishment of such a line of steamships will be a powerful stimulus to emigration. It will awaken new attention to the immense interests of Colonization and give promise of great things to come. It will much reduce the expense of emigration and thus put it within the power of hundreds to pay their own passage. It will give opportunity for the citizens of Liberia frequently to return to this country to visit their friends, and transact any business they may have on hand, and thus to awaken a just desire among many to emigrate.

We therefore sincerely hope that the present Congress will take up the able Report of Mr. Stanton on the Steamships and adopt it, so that no time need be lost in making the impression thereof on the colored people. For many and obvious reasons we want this work commenced without delay. We have entirely mis-



taken the signs of the times, the language of the public press and the desire of the community, if *four-fifths* of the people are not in favor of the Steamship project, just as reported by the committee. We are therefore persuaded that the *bill* must be adopted at *some time*. The Steamships must be built. The great work must be done. Therefore let it be commenced at once.

The free people of color of the United States number upwards of half a million. Among them are many persons of education and refinement, of sound sense and correct morals. It cannot be that such persons can long fail to perceive that emigration to Liberia presents the speediest and most complete relief from their present disadvantageous position, and the thousand things which tend to depress and dispirit them.

#### ARTICLE

FROM THE AFRICAN REPOSITORY, ON THE PROCEEDINGS WITH REPORT TO THE BILL REPORTED BY THE NAVAL COMMITTEE.

#### LIBERIA STEAMSHIPS.

Before the close of the last session of Congress, and while all was hurry and excitement, an effort was made to attach this bill to the Navy Appropriation bill, but without success. There was a manifest majority against this arrangement. We believe, however, that nobody considered that vote as having anything to do with the merits of the case. There were some speeches in favor of establishing the proposed line of steamers—and some against the present lines of Mail Steamers in general, and the proposed "Ebony Line" in particular. As far, however, as we could gather the opinions of the members of Congress, there was a majority in favor of this line. We suppose, therefore, that the subject will come up at an early day next session. It will meet with some strong and decided opposition, after which its friends will rally in their might and pass it.

Seldom has the voice of the public press been so unanimously in favor of any measure of a public nature. We trust it will continue to speak during the recess of Congress. Vast interests of a commercial nature are involved. Let the Representatives of the people know what the people think and what they want! The measure may now be considered as fairly before the country. Let every one speak his mind

upon it, and when Congress again assembles, let there be no doubt as to what the people desire.

#### ACTION OF THE SYNOD OF VIRGINIA, ON COLONIZATION, AND THE PROPOSED STEAMSHIPS.

The Synod of Virginia, at their late meeting in Winchester, Va., adopted the following resolutions, viz:

*Whereas*, The Legislature of Virginia, at its last session, passed an act appropriating \$30,000 a year, for five years, for colonizing the free colored people of this State, in Liberia, and

*Whereas*, The terms of this act are such that it will avail nothing without the concerted and energetic co-operation of the individual friends of colonization in all parts of the Commonwealth: therefore

*Resolved*, That the ministers of this Synod be earnestly recommended to present this subject to the several congregations with which they are connected, at some early day, and take up collections in its behalf, with a view of giving efficiency to the legislation of the State upon this great measure of state policy, and christian charity.

*Resolved*, That we have seen with pleasure, the proposal to establish a line of steamships, to run between this country and Liberia; and that we earnestly desire that the plan, proposed by the Committee on Naval affairs, of the House of Representatives, at their late session, may be adopted.

#### EXTRACT

FROM GOVERNOR W. B. SEABROOK'S ANNUAL MESSAGE, DELIVERED TO THE LEGISLATURE OF SOUTH CAROLINA, NOV. 26, 1850, IN FAVOR OF THE EXPULSION OF FREE COLORED PEOPLE FROM THAT STATE.

"In every community, where the institution of slavery is interwoven with its social system, the public tranquility and safety demand the toleration of only two classes—white men and colored slaves. The existence of a third class, with many of the most valuable rights of the former, on a level with the latter in repugnance to labor, and possessing all their mental traits of character, unchecked by the restraints

of plantation discipline, the colored freeman lives a degraded and unpitied being, a foe to public progress, and unconcerned in all that relates to the welfare of his fellow creatures. History attests, in every servile war, or attempt at insurrection, in our country, his unfortunate race have been the chief actors or instigators. The dark and bloody scenes in St. Domingo would have occurred, even if the famous Decree of the National Assembly of France, of the 15th of May, 1791, had never become a law.

"In South Carolina, free negroes, mulattoes, and mestizoes, possess all the rights of property and protection to which the white inhabitants are entitled. They may purchase, hold, and transmit by descent, real estate. In despite of these and other inestimable rights, which they undisturbedly enjoy, there are few of the 9,000 in our limits who own property beyond a very limited amount.

"In view of the irreary removal from the State, I recommend that the Tax Collectors be instructed to ascertain the number of free negroes, mulattoes and mestizoes in the several districts and parishes, and how many of each who own real estate or slave property, and that they report to the Legislature, at its next session."

NOTE.—Several Slave States have recently passed laws which will have the effect of expelling beyond their borders a large portion of their free colored population. Even at the seat of Government itself; laws having the same object have lately been enforced, at the same time many of the free States have prohibited the immigration of those persons. Under these circumstances, it surely becomes the duty of the General Government to aid as much as possible in providing some asylum for the outcasts.

### EXTRACT

FROM THE LAST MESSAGE FROM THE GOVERNOR OF INDIANA TO THE LEGISLATURE OF THAT STATE, IN FAVOR OF THE PROPOSED LINE OF STEAMERS TO AFRICA.

He warmly favors the scheme of African colonization, and makes that subject a stepping-stone to the consideration of the late measures of adjustment adopted by the National Legislature. We make room for all of this, the concluding portion of his message, inasmuch as it is eminently just, patriotic, and eloquent:

"The subject of the colonization of the free blacks is now beginning to receive that attention which its importance demands. The circumstances which surround us are pressing our people to look into this subject in the right light, and in a proper spirit.

"Our Southern brethren are making rapid movements towards abridging the privileges of this class, even to banishment. We in the North are adopting extraordinary means for removing them, by prohibiting them from holding property, excluding them from the protection of the laws, and denying them any rights whatever.

"While all this is going on, our better nature, the common sympathies of all men, are beginning to ask these important questions: *What is to be the end of all this? Is there no remedy? Is there no cure for this evil?*

"In the midst of all this excitement and confusion the light breaks in upon us, which points conclusively to colonization as the only remedy. The infant colony of Liberia, recognised as one among the nations of the earth, begins now to attract the renewed attention of all men who desire to see an entire separation of the two races. In this great struggle for the separation of the black man from the white, let Indiana take her stand; put her agent into the field. Her citizens are ready—yea, they are willing to contribute of their surplus something for the removal of this people from among us, and to locate them in the native land of their forefathers. Other States in this Union have their own settlements in Liberia. Let Indiana have hers. Let us sustain the movement made by Mr. Bryan, of Alabama, for the employment of Government vessels, to found an empire in Africa. Let the National as well as the State governments strike at this hour for a permanent and effectual remedy for the agitations and excitement of the day on this difficult question."

### EXTRACT

FROM THE REPORT OF THE FIRST ASSISTANT POST MASTER GENERAL, NOV. 16, 1850, IN FAVOR OF AN INCREASED NUMBER OF OCEAN MAIL STEAMSHIP LINES.

Table F. exhibits a list of the foreign or ocean routes, distinguishing those under contract with the Secretary of the Navy, from those held directly under the Postmaster General.

On these routes correspondence is conveyed to and from foreign countries, and remote portions of the United States, in steam packets employed under contract by government, and running at stated periods. By the former mode (still in use whenever

parties resort to it) it was conveyed by sailing vessels, as their voyages might occur, for a small gratuity payable upon each letter at the port of delivery. The new system is much the most expensive; but it gives to correspondence regularity and despatch, the utmost that it is attainable for any purpose, between the same points of destination. This is of the highest importance to the interests involved in correspondence, and as a matter of service deserves a larger compensation. But this species of mail conveyance devolves a cost upon the Government beyond the price of service as fixed by any postages that have been prescribed. This is because individual means are inadequate to the undertaking of establishing and maintaining steam navigation on the ocean. Aid from the Government is necessary, and a wise policy contributes it; for navigation by steam, in view of the competition of other nations, is essential to the commerce of the country, from which our public revenues are derived, and eminently important as a means of public defence and an element of national prosperity and power. Government aid has been extended to these important steam enterprises to an extent beyond the revenue in postages, derived from the correspondence so conveyed. Yet an enlarged view of the subject will show that the surplus thus contributed, is, after all, returned to the Government, in postages collected. One letter received from abroad may cause several to be written at home. Look at the extraordinary annual increase in the amount of postage since our foreign steam mail lines have been fairly put in operation, swelling it to nearly three fold the usual per cent. of advance! Foreign commerce that deposits its freights at our seaports, does not limit to them the prosperity it creates, but quickens and enlarges domestic trade through all the interior channels of business. So with foreign correspondence. It creates and stimulates a correspondence within the country, which enlarges the more as the former becomes, through the agency of steam conveyance, more regular, expeditious, and frequent.

The policy of aiding commercial enterprise, in creating and improving the facility of steam navigation by contracts for the mails was commenced by Great Britain. France followed the example for a brief period only, in her short lived Havre and New York line. The honor of maintaining the competition in that career of policy where the struggle is for success in the improvement of steam navigation, and in the

commerce of the world, now devolves on the United States. Our commencement (on the 1st June, 1847,) was on a small scale, with the steamship Washington, on the route to Northern Germany. We now number sixteen ocean steamers, in actual mail service, on routes to England and France, as well as to Germany, to Cuba, the Isthmus of Panama, and the ports of California and Oregon; and the number will be twenty when the full complement under the present contracts is furnished. It would be unreasonable to suppose that the system has attained its full growth. We may well anticipate that other steam packet lines will be established from the Atlantic and Gulf cities, will connect the East Indies and China with California, and be extended to the Pacific ports of South America.

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## EXTRACTS FROM THE WASHINGTON PRESS.

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### THE REPUBLIC.

[Sept. 11, 1850.]

The Report of the Naval Committee to the House of Representatives in favor of the establishment of a line of mail steamships to the western coast of Africa, and thence via the Mediterranean to London, has been received by the public press throughout the Union with the warmest expressions of approbation. The Whig, Democratic, and Neutral papers of the North and the South, in the slaveholding and non-slaveholding States, with a very few exceptions, appear to vie with each other in pressing its consideration upon the public attention. This earnest and almost unanimous support of the measure by the organs of public opinion, without respect to party or section, shows the deep hold which the objects it proposes to effect have upon the public favor. Those objects are to promote the emigration of free persons of color from this country to Liberia; also to increase the steam navy, and to extend the commerce of the United States—all, it will be almost universally conceded, desirable objects. The desirableness of the objects being admitted, the question is, does the mode proposed for promoting them recommend itself to the sanction of Congress? We are forced to the conclusion that it does. We are aware that while all agree as to the expediency of increasing our steam navy—some are in favor of the Govern-



ment's building its own steam ships, and others advocate the encouragement of lines of steam packets, to be established by private enterprise under the auspices of Government.

Whatever may be thought of the comparative merits of these modes of augmentation, considerations of economy certainly warrant and strongly recommend the adoption of the latter in this particular instance, and in view of the main object in contemplation, namely, the removal of free persons of color from this country to Africa—it being estimated that the gross annual outlay of the Government, on account of the three large steamers proposed to be employed in the service, without crediting anything for postage revenue, will not equal the cost of a single ship in the regular service. And these steamers, it must be recollected, will be always at the command of the Government, who will have the right to take them, in case of war, for its exclusive use and service, on paying the value thereof.

The considerations, however, which in our opinion should commend this measure to the favorable attention of Congress are so obvious, and have been so clearly and strongly presented in the report of the committee, that we need not here repeat them. If the voice of the press, of all sections and of all parties, be any indication of popular opinion, we are free to say, that it would be difficult for congress to pass a measure which would be received with more *general* satisfaction by the people of the United States.

#### THE UNION.

Communicated.

#### MAIL STEAM SHIPS AND COLONIZATION.

—Although we should not feel disposed to support a project for the establishment of a line of steam ships to be sustained mainly at the expense of the Government, and to be applied only to the conveyance of the mails to and from Liberia, and the promotion of the emigration of free persons of color from the United States to that republic, we think the report of the Naval Committee lately presented to the House of Representatives by Mr. Stanton, the able representative from Tennessee, recommending the establishment of a line of mail steam ships to the western coast of Africa, and thence, via the Mediterranean, to London, deserves the support of Congress and the approbation of the country at large.

Various reasons are urged by the committee in support of their report, which is a very able production. It is shown, in the first place, that an addition is required to our steam navy, and that, instead of employing war steamers to cruise about and do nothing, it is better to contract with private individuals for the transportation of the mails in steam ships, built so as easily to be converted into ships of war whenever required by the Government. It is conceded that it is necessary to have several war steamers constantly in the service; but it is contended that the available force of the country should not be confined to these, as they are by far too expensive to allow of any considerable number being kept up. The committee quote at considerable length the remarks of the honorable Thomas Butler King, of Georgia, made in the House of Representatives, February 19, 1848, showing that England had established no less than one hundred and fifteen war steamers to carry the mails to different parts of the world. Since that time the British government has extended the system to Australia, India, the Cape of Good Hope, the Brazils, &c., and it is evident that the naval predominance of the British empire is henceforth to be secured by these means. As far as war steamers in the regular navy are concerned, it appears that the navy of France is almost equal to that of England; but the latter power, having under its control nearly one hundred and fifty war steamers carrying the mails, still retains a vast superiority over its great rival. Many of the British lines of steamships are much more expensive to the government than the amount of the postages earned by them: for example, it cannot for an instant be supposed that the postage on letters to and from Brazil amounts to much, whereas the outlay will probably not fall far short of half a million. England looks to the extension of her commerce and influence, as well as to the formation of a large reserved force of war steamers. We learn by the last advices that a new line is about to be established by the government of that country to the western coast of Africa.

There is good reason to suppose that the Mediterranean trade will before long become of great additional importance to this country. There are at present numerous French and English steamers engaged in that trade, and we learn that a company has been recently formed at Liverpool to run a line of fifteen steamers from that port to the various ports on the Mediterranean. This or other lines will serve to feed our



African steamers, calling as they will at Gibraltar.

On the whole, we regard the report of the Naval Committee as worthy of the favorable consideration of Congress. It appears to us that we require a reserved steam navy, as suggested by the committee, and that nowhere could mail steamers be better employed than upon the proposed route. We fully concur also in opinion with the committee, that the only effectual mode of abolishing the slave trade, and disseminating civilization and Christianity throughout Africa, is to establish colonies of free colored emigrants from the United States; and we doubt not this undertaking will be supported by the people of this country and of the whole Christian world.

#### NATIONAL INTELLIGENCER.

[August 29, 1850.]

STEAMSHIPS FOR AFRICA.—We are so well known as friends of African Colonization, that we cannot imagine that any will impute our recent silence on this subject to indifference. During the sessions of Congress much matter of general interest is necessarily excluded from our columns. Therefore we have not before now been able to notice the important Report of Mr. STANTON, (Chairman of the Naval Committee of the House of Representatives,) recommending the establishment of *a line of Steamers to the Western Coast of Africa, and thence by the way of the Mediterranean to London*. For the notice of it which we now take, we are indebted to a gentleman better qualified than we to judge of its merits.

The establishment of this line is urged for the twofold purposes of strengthening the naval force of the United States, and augmenting the means for the colonization and civilization of Africa. Both England and France have recently greatly increased their naval forces by the construction of steamships; and while the committee do not propose that we should attempt to equal these nations in the number of vessels of war, they are of opinion that a few large steamers will prove of great advantage to the public service, and should be always at the command of the Government.

But, in the view of the Committee, the chief ends to be sought by the establishment of this line are the facilities which it will afford for the emigration of our free colored population to the coast of Africa—

the suppression of the African slave trade—and the increase of legitimate commerce with that country, as one of the principal, most sure, and certain means of its civilization.

Surely the establishment, by private benevolence, of a republican and independent State of emancipated blacks from this country on the African coast, is among the marvels of this age, and the favor with which it is regarded by the great Powers of the world, and the ample means possessed by the General Government of this Union to aid its progress, numbers, stability, and unlimited moral and political influence, are alike indications of our duty and of the benign purposes of Providence towards that vast, and, to a great extent, uncivilized and unexplored region of the world. The power of steam will enable the free and instructed descendants of Africa to return to her with blessings, that they may cultivate her fields, develop her unbounded resources, trace her rivers to their sources, and make them the channels of a valuable commerce; to reclaim her people from barbarism, and teach them to exchange their rude huts for christian villages, and to adorn that now cheerless coast with schools, churches, and cities. We know that large numbers of our intelligent fellow citizens highly approved the determination of the late President to cause inquiries to be made into the condition and prospects of Liberia, and that they are anxious to have the results of those inquiries communicated to the country.

#### NATIONAL INTELLIGENCER.

[October 23, 1850.]

AFRICAN STEAM LINES.—The entertainment by the Government of Great Britain of a project for the establishment of a powerful line of steam vessels between that country and the African coast, ostensibly for the conveyance of a monthly mail, and the more effectual checking of the slave traffic, is strong proof, we think, of the value that the commerce between the two countries is capable of becoming. It may, in addition, be regarded as corroborative of the justness of the position taken by the advocates of a mail steamer line between this country and Africa. We are by no means disposed to look invidiously on the enterprising spirit exhibited abroad for securing a closer connexion with a country, the great mercantile wealth of which is yet, comparatively speaking, untouched. This spirit should have on

us no other than a stimulating effect. Besides, for years, if not ages to come, the trade with Africa can admit of no very close competition. The promised vastness of this trade, whilst excluding all idea of monopoly, must continue to excite to new enterprise by its unlimited rewards. It is unnecessary that we should exhibit statistics to show her how largely England has been benefited by persevering though frequently interrupted communication with the interior parts of that great continent, nor to make plain how, with better knowledge and more ready means of access, mercantile risks will be lessened and mercantile profits enlarged. It will be remembered that the Congressional committee to whom the question of establishing mail steamers between this country and Africa was referred, adverted in their report to the aid its adoption would afford in the consummation of the plans of the Colonization Society. On the intimate relation between the one and the other, it was supposed that a good part of the required success was dependant. It is something singular that the colored race—those in reality most interested in the future destinies of Africa—should be so lightly affected by the evidences continually being presented in favor of colonization. He will do a service to this country as well as Africa who shall do any thing to open the eyes of the colored race to the advantages of emigration to the fertile and, to them, congenial shores of Africa.

## EXTRACTS FROM THE NEW-YORK PRESS.

### JOURNAL OF COMMERCE.

The removal of free blacks to the coast of Africa, is regarded as a measure in which all sections of the country are equally concerned; and by which all interests, and chiefly those of the emigrants themselves, are essentially promoted. But there are various other considerations which justly commend the project to public favor. The planting and building up of Christian colonies on the coast of Africa, is certainly one of the effective obstacles to, if not the only practical preventive of the prosecution of the slave trade. The extension of our steam marine, is also of paramount importance, in the increased facilities it affords to commerce, and the strength it adds to the arm which is established for its defence and protection.

### WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENCE OF THE SAME.

Mr. Stanton of Tennessee has entered zealously into the project of a line of steamers to Liberia, and must eventually succeed, so very proper, suitable, and important is the measure. As Chairman of the Naval Committee, too, his recommendations and efforts must command the confidence and support of Congress. As a Democrat of the first water, his party will trust him, while the Whigs will have no reason to distrust him. As a southern man he will not be suspected of aiding abolitionism. As a colonizationist, he must secure troops of supporters. National pride welling up in many bosoms, will be unwilling that Great Britain should so far excel our steam marine, while the sum of our tonnage exceeds her own. It is one of those national, useful, practicable measures, which the great body of the people will sustain.

### THE SAME.

COLONIZATION.—Memorials have been presented in the Senate from Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Kentucky, and other States, praying that, with a view to remove from our land the greatest cause of discord, and to secure the future welfare, harmony, and permanency of the union, Congress pass a law providing means to remove from our country all that portion of the African race who are both willing and ready to emigrate to Africa; that suitable provision be made for their real wants for one year after their arrival in Africa; and as a greater inducement for them to emigrate, that a bounty in land be given them on their arrival, upon which, with industry and economy, they may support themselves; and make such other provision as may be most desirable.

The best provision for this object that Congress can make, is, to aid in the establishment of a line of first class steam packets for Liberia—to carry passengers and open a trade.

### COURIER AND INQUIRER.

Mr. STANTON'S Report discusses all the questions connected with this enterprise, with signal ability, and presents an array of facts, which, if properly weighed, cannot fail to exert a large and favorable influence upon the opinion of Congress.

Aside from the noble object of colonizing our free population in Liberia, which has so long engaged the attention of statesmen and philanthropists, and which this scheme proposes to accomplish in a more feasible form than has ever before been suggested, there are considerations of a national character, which entitle it to the serious attention of legislators. It contemplates the extension of our commercial relations with a remote and comparatively unexplored region; it opens new channels of communication with distant countries, securing regularity and rapid intercourse, and if carried out, it will add to that maritime power, which is one of the great sources of the wealth and strength of the Government. With a sagacious foresight, Great Britain was the first to adopt the policy of building up a steam navy, by extending her favor to the construction of mail steamships, which might, in case of necessity, be converted into vessels of war. The results of this policy have been witnessed. Until a very recent period, she has monopolized the travel and a large part of the trade between the two countries, and it is only now that she is beginning to feel the effects of vigorous competition. In the limited aid which Congress contributed to private enterprise of this sort, a valuable precedent was established, which has been attended with results far beyond the expectations of its most sanguine friends. If we are to keep pace with Great Britain in the improvements in steam marine, and to contest the supremacy of the sea, Congress must lend its influence and patronage, as the British Government has done, and by liberal legislation encourage the construction of steamers that will connect with every quarter of the globe. Objections have been urged against this project, because it may be profitable to the originators. Without any other knowledge on his point than that derived from a careful examination of the public documents, it does seem to me that such an objection is wholly discreditable. Individuals and companies do not start enterprises to lose by them, and if they are remunerated, what disadvantage is that to any body, if the public interests have been promoted? This proposition deserves to be considered in its public aspect and no other.

#### THE SAME.

The proposition to establish a line of Mail Steamers between this country and

the coast of Africa, enlists very general favor. So far as its leading objects are concerned it meets little opposition. The beneficent effects of increasing communication with that country, and of colonizing it with free negroes from the United States, are very palpable. Free negroes in this country are, and undoubtedly always will be, in a position of decided inferiority. They can never gain that equality of rank, and of social and political condition, essential to the development of their faculties and to the attainment of that degree of happiness and of social prosperity for which they may be fitted. Experience, moreover, has shown that in Liberia they can plant colonies which will take an honorable rank among communities, in all the respects which mark progress in civilization and in morality. An independent government has already been established there, which is doing remarkably well, and it needs only the aid of increased immigration to carry it forward with rapidity and substantial strength. The friends of this project insist, that from eight to twelve thousand free negroes may be exported every year by three ships, and that after two years they will be able to sustain themselves, and that the colony will readily absorb and employ any number that may be taken thither.

This establishment of Colonies on the coast of Africa, will doubtless greatly augment the commerce of this country. In palm oil, for which there is a constantly increasing demand, in gold, which is found at various points of the coast, in ivory, coffee, cam and other dye-woods, gums of various kinds, and in many fruits peculiar to tropical regions, there will undoubtedly be an extensive and increasing traffic. Great Britain has hitherto enjoyed nearly the whole trade with that section, and in many of the articles named it is very large and profitable.

The Naval Committee in the House of Representatives has made a Report highly favorable to the project, and it has enlisted very ardent advocacy both in and out of Congress.

#### COMMERCIAL ADVERTISER.

STEAM SHIPS TO AFRICA.—Readers interested in the cause of colonization and in the welfare of the African race, will probably remember a remark made by Mr. Webster, in his place in the Senate, during the present session, to the effect that he should be quite disposed to enter into a



scheme of colonization, to be carried on by the United States Government, for the transportation of free people of color to any designated place, and to incur almost any amount of expense to accomplish that object. More to the same purport did that great and far-seeing statesman utter to the same effect on that occasion, showing that he cared for the present and prospective interests of the colored race, and pointing to the wise policy by which most readily, if not alone, they could be benefited—that of removing to their native shores those who have already achieved their freedom. We have little hesitation in saying that our Government must sooner or later adopt some such measures. Numerous facts and arguments pointing to such an ultimatum are within the purview of every intelligent person, and for the last two or three years the conviction that such a result must come has been gradually growing into a deeply rooted and almost universal public sentiment.

Had the time and temper of Congress during its present session been less engrossed with our internal difficulties, its earnest attention would probably have been directed to this very subject, and possibly it would have devised some comprehensive scheme by which an object so desirable might be promoted. Liberia would of course be the point of destination, the Government availing itself of the thriving republic which private benevolence has established. Early in the session a memorial was presented to Congress upon this subject by Mr. Joseph Bryan, of Alabama, and other enterprising gentlemen, praying the aid of the Federal Government in the establishment of a line of steamships between the United States and the western coast of Africa, the primary design of which is to promote the emigration of free persons of color to Liberia, and its subordinate purposes to increase our steam navy and to extend the commerce of this country. The subject has not been reached in the order of Congressional legislation, to the regret of many who deem the present an exceedingly favorable opportunity for trying an experiment which, if successful, would accomplish what mistaken philanthropists have vainly sought to achieve by other means—the general melioration of the condition of the colored race.

§ The memorial was referred to the committee on naval affairs in the House of Representatives, of which Mr. Stanton, of Tennessee, is chairman, whose report is before us. It is favorable to the memorialists, and

the views of the committee are ably supported by argument. It first directs attention to the minor branch of the subject so far as the memorialists are concerned, but in reality the major so far as relates to the participation of Government in the enterprise—its relation to the steam navy. The committee recommend that the prayer of the memorialists be granted on the ground that it is desirable to extend the system, recently commenced by Congress, of creating a powerful steam navy to be employed in time of peace in carrying the mails, and for the general purposes of commerce, but at all times subject to the requisitions of Government. At the close of the year 1845 the effective steam navy of Great Britain numbered one hundred and ninety-nine vessels; that of France fifty-four; that of Russia, exclusive of the Caspian fleet, thirty-two; while the steam navy of the United States consisted of but six small vessels, one of which was fitted up for harbor defence only, and another was a steam tug.

Since 1845 England has greatly increased this arm of power. In 1846 the British Government enlarged its contract with Mr. Cunard and his associates, empowering them to add four large steamers to those already built, and increasing the compensation for mail service to nearly \$750,000 per annum. About the same time, we believe, it contracted with the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company for seven similar steamers; for four others to run from Valparaiso to Panama; in 1848 for twelve others running between Great Britain and European continental ports; and others are believed to be in contemplation to run to Australia. These are to be added to a small fleet of steamers, fourteen in number, of the Royal Mail Steamship Company, and four Cunarders, established prior to 1845. These all, we believe, receive the aid of Government on the express condition that they shall be held subject to the use of the nation as war steamers whenever required, on the same principle as has been more recently acted upon by our Government, and as is incorporated in the memorial of Mr. Bryan and his associates.

It will be seen, therefore, at a glance, that the British Government is largely availing itself of this economical mode of increasing its naval strength. Nor has our own Government been idle in the matter. Since 1845 Congress has provided for the building of four war steamers and seventeen large steamships suitable for war purposes, and at all times liable to be taken for the public



service. There is, however, margin enough still for such enterprise with advantage to the nation, if judiciously directed. Considering the great national good that would be effected by such a measure, and the benevolence of its aims, it seems to us that the establishment of a line of steamers between this country and Liberia would be a judicious use of national aid. Such a movement would free us from what must always be a burden and a source of trouble and vexation; would be a boon to a race that has suffered much wrong and oppression at our hands; would materially strengthen the infant Republic which the sons of Ham have set up; would thereby promote, more rapidly and certainly than any other agency, the extinction of the slave trade; and would increase the means by which nations command respect. The committee urged, secondly, this aspect of the question as a reason for their favorable report.

So great an enterprise cannot probably be carried out by unaided individual resources. Nor for the reasons already given does it appear just or expedient that it should. It is one so vitally affecting national interests that national aid may well be given in furtherance of its purposes. But the committee suggest some slight modification of the memorialists' plan. They propose three ships instead of four; one to leave New York, Baltimore, and New Orleans, respectively, every three months; each vessel to be of four thousand tons and to cost not more than \$900,000; to be commanded by an officer of the navy, with four passed midshipmen for watch officers. The contractors to carry all emigrants whom the American Colonization Society may send at \$10 each when more than twelve years of age, and at \$5 when younger, including sailors' rations and transportation of baggage. Two of the vessels to be ready for sea in two years and a half; the other in three years. The Government to advance two thirds of the cost of construction, secured by a lien on the ship, and to pay \$40,000 for each trip. The expense of each trip is estimated at \$50,000.

The committee also, and in this we think they are right, do not concur in the proposals of the memorialists to be permitted to import the produce of Liberia into the United States free of duty. They prefer that the remuneration of the contractors, whatever it may be, shall go in the form of a direct payment of money. This we esteem the far sounder principle. The other would open the source of constant jealousy and dissatisfaction on the part of those sections of the

country with the staples of which Liberian produce might hereafter come in competition. There can be no doubt that the establishment of vigorous colonies along the Western coast of Africa will in course of time greatly extend the commerce of the United States. At the present day the British commerce with Africa amounts to twenty-five millions of dollars annually. Let but the slave trade be abolished, and the attention of the natives as well as colonists be turned to the arts of peace, and a vast commerce must be the result. We shall rejoice if the Government of the United States takes a prominent part in bringing about so desirable an improvement in the condition of Africa.

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#### TRIBUNE.

MAIL STEAMERS TO AFRICA AND THE MEDITERRANEAN.—When the Report first appeared of the Naval Committee of the House of Representatives in favor of Government aid to the establishment of a line of gigantic Mail Steamers to Africa, the project was met by wholesale denunciation from the *Evening Post*, and The Tribune was singled out and required to explain and justify the Committee's project. We responded by publishing the Committee's Report and making such corrections of the Post's assertions as that Report enabled us to do. We have since published two or three articles explaining and commending the Committee's views, and we this morning make room for an able, elaborate, and we think triumphant vindication of the mail steamer project, by Thos. J. Durant, Esq., of New Orleans, which we commend to the attention of commercial men especially. To us it seems clear that a regular monthly steam mail from the chief seaports of this country successively to the West Coast of Africa and the Strait of Gibraltar, there to connect with such lines as France and England will have established on the Mediterranean, cannot fail to prove highly advantageous to the commerce and industry of our whole country, by opening new markets for many of our products and ensuring a lucrative return trade in articles which do not compete with and depress our own labor. But the advantages of the enterprise are so fully set forth by Mr. Durant that we leave the argument in his hands.

We are in favor of the judicious and well ordered extension of our Steam Mail service, but only on condition that it shall

measurably supersede and fill the place of our old-fashioned Navy. Building ships of war to make a parade voyage occasionally, and then rot, is wretched economy and no statesmanship at all. But lines of Mail Steamers of the very first class, constantly useful and paying a good share of their cost by the conveyance of Mails and Merchandise, these we regard as the only Naval defenses adapted to the stirring age wherein we live. Had a war suddenly broken out with Great Britain any time from 1830 to 1849, our valuable Pacific whale fleet, our vastly and richly freighted ships in the China trade, &c., might have been swept from the ocean, while wholly unconscious of danger. Even in our late War, had Mexico possessed a particle of Military spirit and Naval power, she might have destroyed half our whale ships before news of the war reached them. Mail Steamships now form the Telegraphic lines of the ocean, and the Nation which has most of them cannot fail of enjoying immense commercial advantages. One first class Mail Steamship, at the command of the Government, and ready to be fully armed at short notice, must be worth several men-of-war, and ought not to cost more per annum than one of them. We hope to see the day when our whole Naval aristocracy, instead of drawing pay for "waiting orders," will be employed in Mail Steamers, and thus made acquainted with all the coasts and harbors of the habitable globe, while our old-fashioned sailing vessels, a few small ones excepted, shall have ceased to trouble the ocean or deplete the treasury. A naval force thus constituted and employed might be rendered twice as effectual as our old one, at a less cost to the treasury. How long must we wait for it?

By the way: A friend writes that we were wrong in suggesting that Congress might properly give the contract for the African line of Steamships to some other than the original proposers, if their terms and proposals, as modified, should be deemed acceptable. On this point we only meant that Congress might very properly reject unfit or unworthy men, or exorbitant terms, should such be proffered. But the main question is not who should do it, but whether the Government should embark in the enterprise at all, and to that point our remarks were mainly directed.

# TRIBUNE.

[Dec. 25, 1850.]

**AFRICA AND STEAM SHIPS.**—If but a single line of Steamships is to be authorized this Session—and the state and prospects of the finances must counsel frugality and caution—we think a line to Africa fairly entitled to the preference. That continent on its western side is comparatively proximate and accessible; it is filled with inhabitants who need the articles we can abundantly fabricate, and it is the ancestral soil of more than three millions of our people—of a Race on whose account we are deeply debtors to Justice and to Heaven. That Race is more plastic and less conservative than the Chinese; their soil produces in spontaneous profusion many articles which are to us comforts and luxuries, while nearly every thing we produce is in eager demand among its inhabitants, if they can but find the wherewithal to pay for them. Instead of being a detriment and a depression to our own manufacturing and mechanical industry, as the trade induced by our costly Steamship lines to Liverpool, Bremen and Havre mainly is, all the commerce with Africa which a more intimate communication with her would secure would be advantageous to every department of American Labor. Her surplus products are so diverse from ours, that no collision of interests between her producers and ours could ever be realized, while millions' worth of her tropical products which will not endure the slow and capricious transportation which is now their only recourse, would come to us in good order by steam ships, and richly reward the labor of the gatherers and the enterprise of the importers.

But the Social and Moral aspects of this subject are still more important. We are now expending life and treasure, in concert with other nations, to suppress the African slave trade, and it is now generally conceded that such suppression can never be effected by the means hitherto relied on. The colonization of the slave coast, with direct reference to its christianization and civilization, is the only sure means of putting an end to this inhuman traffic. And this colonization, all who are interested in the work seem heartily to agree, would be immensely accelerated by the establishment of a line of African steamships. Liberia, now practically distant as Buenos Ayres, would by such a line be brought as near us as Bremen, and the ports regularly visited by our steamers could not fail rapidly to

assume importance as centers of commerce and of increasing intelligence and industry.

#### HERALD.

##### AMERICAN MAIL CONTRACT SYSTEM.—

We have already directed the public attention to the report of the Naval Committee, lately presented to the House of Representatives, in favor of the establishment of a line of mail steamships to the western coast of Africa, and thence via the Mediterranean to London, designed to promote the emigration of free persons of color from the United States to Liberia; also to increase the steam navy and to extend the commerce of the United States. It will be found that the report of the committee differs most materially from the memorial of Judge Bryan and others, to Congress, which asked for the establishment of a line of steamers to run only between the United States and Liberia. We regarded that project, when it was first presented to the public notice, as utterly impracticable. But the establishment of a line of steamships to run not merely to Africa, but also to open up the Mediterranean trade to American enterprise, and to touch at the principal ports of Spain, Portugal and France, and bring the mails from all those points and from London, is a totally different affair.

The report of the committee is a very able one. It begins by showing that it is expedient to extend the system recently commenced by Congress, which has for its object the creation of a powerful steam navy, to be used in time of peace in carrying the mails, and in effecting great public objects not to be attained by private enterprise without the aid of Congress.

The report shows the weakness of our steam navy, as compared with those of France and England, and particularly dwells upon the example of England in establishing lines of steamers built so as to be easily converted into ships of war, to be employed in commerce, and for carrying mails, but being at all times subject to the requisition of the government. This, it is contended, is the cheapest mode of providing in time of peace for the exigencies of war. As shown in our columns a few weeks since, by a comparative statement of the steam navies of France and England, which are nearly equal in force, the latter power is relying mainly on its maritime supremacy upon its fleets of mail steamers, which can, at a short notice, be converted into vessels of war. Every now and then we hear of the extension of

this system. During the present year, fresh contracts have been made for lines of British mail steamers to Brazil, the Cape of Good Hope, Australia, &c.; and it appears that there are nearly one hundred and fifty of these ships in the service of the government. It cannot be supposed that the mails to and from Brazil, for example, will pay the expenses; but the British government is content to pay a good round sum for the support of this line of steamers, rather than be compelled to keep war steamers in commission to float about and do nothing. Not only is there a considerable difference in the expense in favor of the mail steamers, but due regard is also had to the fact that the commerce of the country is extended by them, and English power and influence felt, through their instrumentality, all over the world. In this country, no plan for increasing our naval strength could be more popular than this; and it is clear that, with the great increase in the extent of our coasts, and the vast expansion of our commerce, it behooves us to see that our steam navy is kept upon a respectable footing. The report of the Naval Committee recommends that the steamers in question shall be of not less than four thousand tons burthen, shall be built under the direction of a government surveyor, and commanded by officers of the United States Navy. They are to be constructed expressly for war purposes, and are to be used in the public service whenever required, the contractors being paid the value according to an appraisement.

In addition to the conveyance of free colored persons from the United States to Liberia, under the superintendence of the American Colonization Society, of which Henry Clay is the President, these ships will touch at Gibraltar, and there connect, we presume, with a line of steamers plying on the Mediterranean—thence they will proceed to Cadiz, Lisbon, and some port in France—probably Havre—to London. It is impossible to estimate the extent of the trade that will be thus opened up for our merchants and manufacturers.

The advantages secured by the proposed line of steamers are fourfold, thus:—

1. An increase of our steam navy, at a moderate expense.
2. The carrying of the mails from the Mediterranean, the Peninsula, France, and London.
3. The encouragement of the emigration of free blacks from the United States to Liberia.
4. The extension of American commerce and influence in Western Africa, and the



adjacent Islands, the Mediterranean, Spain, Portugal, France, and England.

5. The opportunity of making our naval officers practically acquainted with steam as a motive power for naval purposes.

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HERALD, DEC. 17, 1850.

**THE COLONY OF LIBERIA AND ITS PROSPECTS.**—By every arrival from Liberia, we learn that the colony of free negroes from the United States is progressing at a rate truly astonishing, and that, before many years, it promises to be a strong and powerful republic. The experiment of self government has been completely successful; the educational interests of the inhabitants are duly cared for; civilization is making great headway among the aborigines, and, by means of Liberia, there is a very flattering prospect of the slave trade on the coast of Africa being entirely destroyed. Governor Roberts, a very intelligent colored man, of mixed blood, goes even so far as to say that Liberia is destined to rival the United States, and that both republics, by a unity of action, can civilize and christianize the world, and especially benighted Africa. We are pleased to hear such good accounts from Liberia, and we shall always be pleased to hear of its success, and of the progress and welfare of its inhabitants. Founded, as it has been, by American philanthropists, and peopled by our emancipated slaves, the United States will ever watch its progress with interest, and aid and assist it as far as it possibly can.

It is a curious fact that our domestic abolitionists have always opposed the colonization principle, and denounced, in their usual violent manner, all connection with the scheme. They did so from the first, and they do so still, notwithstanding the triumphant success which has attended it. This, however, is easily explained. Every negro who embarks for Liberia abstracts from their capital, and reduces their adherents one less. While these sticklers for negro liberty, and unrestrained freedom to the whole world and the rest of mankind, will not associate with a colored man, they are opposed to this most humane and most philanthropic method of conferring liberty, in the real sense of the term, on the emancipated blacks of the Southern States. They will allow the negro whom they helped to steal, to clean their boots and to drive their carriages; but they will not allow them to aspire any higher. Liberia will, however, prosper, in spite of them.

It has prospered and increased without their aid, and it will continue to do so. It has been said, and with a good deal of reason, that the institution of slavery in the United States will, in all probability, yet be the means of civilizing and christianizing Africa. The prospect is certainly very flattering for such a consummation. As it is, the emancipated negroes of Liberia have made a deep impression on the aborigines in their vicinity, and are daily adding to their population, resources, and strength, from the surrounding tribes. If that colony should increase, for twenty or fifty years to come, as it has increased from the time of its foundation, it will exercise as great a control and influence in Africa as this republic does in America. It will expand its territorial limits, and by degrees take under its protection tribes who are wild and untutored, and the civilization of whom could never be accomplished by the white race, in consequence of climate and other obstacles. The negro of the United States is at home there, and has ample scope for the exercise of his ambition. If Africa should, in course of time, be regenerated through the means of our emancipated negroes, who will say that slavery in the United States was not designed for a good purpose? From the progress of Liberia to this time, such really seems to be the prospect. That colony has already done as much to put a stop to the slave trade, as the combined fleets of England and the United States. It has broken up one or two trading establishments, which were in existence for a long time, and from which, notwithstanding all the vigilance of our navy officers and those of England, a great many slaves were shipped every year to Cuba, Brazil and other countries. If it has done so much already, what will the colony do in a few years hence, when it becomes a strong and powerful country, as it promises to do?

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EXPRESS.

**THE PROPOSED LINE OF STEAMERS TO AFRICA.**—Hon. Mr. Stanton, the present Chairman of the Committee on Naval Affairs in the House of Representatives, having solicited from his distinguished predecessor in that office, Hon. Thomas Butler King, such suggestions as might occur to his mind favorable or unfavorable to the project of establishing a line of mail steamships between the United States and the



coast of Africa, Mr. King replies in an interesting letter, which is published in the Washington Republic of Saturday. The long experience of Mr. King on the Naval Committee imparts great weight to his opinion on a matter of this character. He considers the subject as one of the utmost importance to the whole country, and expresses his conviction that there is as little doubt of the expediency of colonizing the free people of color of the United States, on the coast of Africa, as that a steam navy is necessary if we intend, in the event of war, to protect our commerce, or defend our seacoast from ruinous blockades and actual invasion. Mr. King warmly approves of the proposition to have the steamers of the largest class, such as may be readily converted into war vessels, should Government ever so require. He refers to the excellence of the policy of Great Britain in all that respects her steam marine, not only on that coast, but everywhere else. All who would compete with that great naval power must either lead or follow in the improvements she has made, and is now making, in that respect, or else yield their commerce to support her power. Construct the steamers at once, says Mr. King, and there cannot be a doubt, he thinks, that the money annually paid for the conveyance of letters and other mailable matter at sea, by passengers and for freight on passage goods, will be amply sufficient to support a steam navy, powerful enough to crush all the sailing navies of the present day. Mr. King is opposed to establishing a Government connection with the African coast other than with steamers. Steam must not be thrown away for the wind, if we desire to maintain an equality with the foremost maritime nations of the present day.

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FROM THE SAME.

If we can line the coast with settlers, natives or descendants of Africa, we may hope ere long, under the influence of Religion and Education, and through the developments of trade and enterprise, to see the slave trade at an end, Africa civilized, and in time restored to something of the splendor of her ancient fame.

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FROM THE SAME.

PROGRESS OF LIBERIA.—Liberia is progressing rapidly and prosperously. Massa-

sachusetts has chartered a college for Liberia, and paid \$18,000. Two brothers, residing in Louisville and Cincinnati, offer to pay the expenses of a Batavia mission in the interior of Africa. An experienced geologist offers to make a survey, if means are found to defray his expenses. The sum of \$10,000 has been given by a citizen of Philadelphia, the net income of which is to be appropriated to pay the expenses of Sunday schools in Liberia. William Short, Esq. has left \$10,000 for the Colonization Society. The free negroes of the British West India Islands are organizing to emigrate to Africa with considerable stock and means.

New York, too, has contributed \$1,800 to send the Rogers slaves to Liberia.

These are glorious evidences of the regeneration of Africa, and it ought to gladden the hearts of all here that America, which has done so much wrong to the African race through the slave trade, is to be the chief instrument of her moral and political regeneration.

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SUN.

The report of the Naval Committee of the House, recommending the establishment, by aid of government, of a line of gigantic mail steamers to Africa, has received the almost unanimous sanction of the nation. The project has been advocated by some of the ablest minds in the country, and been received with marked favor by all sections of the people. Under these circumstances the public have a right to expect that Congress will not adjourn without having given effect to the report of the Committee. Where great national interests are involved, as in this case, Congress should act with vigor, and despatch, as well as with judgment and precision.

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FROM THE SAME.

We yesterday gave our views in favor of the proposed line of steamers between this country and Liberia, and expressed a hope that the project would meet with the sanction of Congress. For reasons already repeatedly urged by us, we believe that government should countenance and assist all such projects when coming from responsible parties, and of a real and *bona fide* character. They should not be regarded as mere private speculations, but

as matters of great national concern. In the present position of the United States, and the attitude of the world generally, the aim of every American statesman should be the speedy attainment of a powerful and efficient steam navy. In no way can this grand object be so easily, so cheaply, and so speedily attained, as by the liberal, and, at the same time, judicious co-operation of Government with private and individual enterprise, in the manner proposed.

#### STAR.

**EMIGRATION OF FREE BLACKS TO AFRICA.**—The time has at last arrived for something effectual to be done by Congress and State Legislatures, to assist the blacks in colonizing Africa. It is admitted in all parts of the Union, the North as well as the South, that something should be done to improve the condition of the free colored population of the country—and it is clear, that as every effort has failed to abolish the slave trade, our next step is to settle and establish that population in the most eligible portion of that continent, which belongs exclusively to them by Divine gift, under the protection of the United States, and the great powers of Europe. A project is now before Congress which merits the most serious attention of that honorable body, and which is pregnant with great results. It is to establish a line of steamships between New York, Norfolk, Charleston, and New Orleans, and the republic of Liberia, to convey emigrants under the direction of the American Colonization Society, from the United States to that republic, at an expense of only ten dollars for each adult, including provisions. The ships are each to be of from 3 to 4,000 tons burthen, and to be so constructed as to be easily converted into vessels of war. The projectors of the plan are willing to build the steamships themselves at their own expense, but will require an annual appropriation from Congress for carrying the mails, and other contingencies, in consideration of the privilege conceded to take the ships whenever required for the public service. No reasonable doubt can be entertained that from 10 to 12,000 blacks would emigrate annually to the various settlements on the western coast of Africa, or 1000 by each steamer, making monthly or semi-quarterly trips. There are, it is supposed, about 500,000 free blacks in the United States, so that, if only one out of

fifty was to emigrate, the ships would start with an adequate number of passengers.

The climate and soil of Liberia are represented to be good in every respect, and there is every disposition to aid the colonists, both in this country and in Europe. The population is about 80,000, and is rapidly on the increase. They exercise great influence over the neighboring nations, and they have suppressed the slave-trade for 400 miles on the coast. It is true that but few of the free colored population have been willing to embrace the offer in emigrating to Liberia; they were apprehensive of the voyage and of the climate, and want of employment.

But there are abundant reasons for concluding that if the great stimulus is given to the cause of emigration, the public will be strongly roused in its favor. The various State Legislatures would move in the matter; the free blacks themselves will be induced to investigate the subject, and will discover that great advantages are now possessed by the colony, which it would be absurd in them not to avail themselves of at the earliest opportunity. The passage can be made readily in 12 or 14 days, in fine steamers, and if they do not like their new homes they have the option of returning. The application of some of the steamers in time of peace for the objects above stated, will be one of the most popular measures which can be devised, and we trust that it will occupy the attention of Congress at an early day.

Our blockading squadron on the coast of Africa costs us more than a million of dollars annually, without any good or beneficial result. We cannot, in that way, put down African slavery; but strengthen the arm of the free-colored emigrants, and they will not permit the blacks to be shipped on board the slavers. Although Providence has, for wise purposes, excluded the white men from that continent, yet to the negro race it is the land of milk and honey; even bread grows there, and fruits in great abundance.

In the midst of war and excitement between the North and South, this movement will please both parties well; and gratify the North, while it will please the South. Let it be done promptly.

#### GLOBE.

**THE COLONIZATION OF THE AFRICAN RACE.**—The writer in the Commercial

Advertiser of Wednesday, whose intentions are undoubtedly laudable, and whose love of country is apparent in all he says, recommends that the Government should set apart some portion of the public domain for the purpose of colonizing the free negroes and emancipated slaves. He is not the first philanthropist who has made this suggestion. Attempts have been made in several of the States to establish African colonies. They have been unsuccessful, and in some instances have totally failed; in others, their success has been in no measure commensurate with the efforts made nor the expectations encouraged.

We have long thought that all efforts directed to the colonization of the negroes on this continent would prove illusory and fruitless for all practical purposes. Insurmountable difficulties embarrass any such scheme in the outset. What part of the national territory shall be devoted to this purpose? What State would desire rising upon its borders a population consisting altogether of Africans? A climate North of the cotton growing region is uncongenial to the African constitution. A negro population, experience has shown, will thrive neither in servitude nor freedom at the North. Settlements of Virginia negroes, transported to Ohio and started with farms and every facility for improving them, have languished and failed to fulfil the benevolent designs of their founders. The negroes in these settlements have deteriorated in habits of industry and morality; they have become too often paupers and pests to the contiguous white community. Would Iowa or Minnesota consent to the establishment of a negro territory in their vicinity? We apprehend that no State in the Mississippi valley would approve of the creation of any such territory in that vast fertile region. If we seek in vain, therefore, for the negroes' home in that great valley, where else upon this great continent can it be sought? A far superior race to the African has failed to maintain itself before the advancing Anglo-Saxon. It has not been absorbed, or amalgamated—it has wasted away and disappeared. And so it would be with any negro colonies which misdirected humanity shall attempt to establish on this continent. If the warlike and unconquerable red man has been swept away and exterminated, how can the docile and effeminate African maintain his ground?

The writer in the Commercial Advertiser proposes to set aside a portion of the national territory on the Pacific coast, for

a Negro colony. The objections to such an appropriation of our public lands there are very obvious and numerous. The country is not susceptible of maintaining a very dense population, and will all be occupied before the proposed colony could be established. The expense of transporting the free negroes or emancipated slaves would be greater than that of transporting them to Africa. The contiguity of white settlements would prove as great an obstacle to their colonization on the Pacific coast as to their establishment in the Mississippi valley—

It is in vain to attempt, therefore, the formation of negro colonies on this continent. No general concurrence of opinion can ever be obtained in its favor.

We entirely agree with Commodore Stockton in the views taken by him in his recent letter on the subject of slavery and colonization. We think with him, that a wise Providence has *permitted slavery* here, for the fulfilment of his own wise purposes. We think that slavery in America is but the herald of liberty and civilization for Africa.

The first mention of the sale of a human being is that of Joseph to the Midianite merchantmen. He says himself in Genesis, chapter 50th, verse 20th, of his slavery: "But God meant it unto good, to save much people alive." A great dispensation of Providence was wrought out of the bondage of Joseph. So also, it seems to us that the slavery of the African in the United States is designed by the inscrutable wisdom of Providence for the future benefit of Africa.

Unless by restoring to Africa her own children, civilized, christianized, and educated as they have become here, how else can her 150,000,000 of barbarian idolators and savages become enlightened or civilized?

That work can be accomplished only by the African himself. It is for the accomplishment of this work—the colonization and civilization of Africa by free and educated Africans—that Providence, in our opinion, has permitted their present servitude in America. This is the benignant mission, the fulfilment of which has already commenced in the establishment of the Republic of Liberia. The views recently published by Commodore Stockton, on this subject, are entitled to great weight—for they are the result of the reflections of a quarter of a century. It was through his instrumentality that the territory where the Liberia Republic flourishes, was pur-



chased, and his attention has therefore been naturally directed for a long period of time to the colonization of Africa. His mind has arrived at the conclusion, that the colonization of Africa, with the Africans of the United States, is the only way of civilizing Africa, as well as putting an end to the slave trade.

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FROM THE SAME.

If they, the Abolitionists, will make the colonization of the Africans now in the United States an issue, we will go with them before the laborers and producers of the free States at any time, and doubt not the latter will unanimously say, "Send the negroes to the land of their fathers, and save us from the evils of competition with them in the field and in the workshop. This would be an issue in its practical effects, worth ten thousand *Provisos*, whether we consider the good of the white or the black race. As slavery is abolished in the States where it now exists, the free negroes will crowd into the cities on the Atlantic shore. Are our mechanics and laborers ready to receive them? is a question that admits of but one answer. Abolish slavery in the South, and allow emancipated negroes to settle among us, and in less than twenty years there will be a war of races in the North, unless colonization immediately follows emancipation.

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FREEMAN'S (CATHOLIC) JOURNAL.

A great deal of attention is just now awakened, and we think deservedly, to a scheme for the establishment of a line of ocean steamers between the United States and the western coast of Africa. The plan proposes to carry out as emigrants, at a very low rate, free people of color for the purpose of colonizing the entire coast of Africa. The various objects to be thus promoted are the diminishing the number of the colored population in this country; the cutting off the slave trade in the only efficient way possible; the gradual civilization of Africa; and the opening a new line of trade, in the course of time, for the commerce of the United States. The plan, as we have learned it from those most immediately interested, is liberal and free from all unpleasant restrictions, and we are pleased that the committee of the House to which it was referred have re-

ported favorably upon it. We shall develop more fully the scheme in a future number of our paper.

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MIRROR.

We think very well of this scheme for the Government and very well for the contractors. In the first place, though the number of negroes supposed to be sent out is doubtless far greater than will really go, yet nevertheless there will be a sufficient number to tell, to prevent the great increase of that population, and to inspire the black with the idea that there is a country where he can be a man. In the second place, the peopling of the coasts discourages, and will annihilate, the slave trade. In the third place, the engines of commerce will be made the engines of war, and we shall have three steamships at a cheaper rate than we could otherwise own them. In the fourth place, as these steamships sail from London, for every black taken out a white will be brought in.

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ROCHESTER DEMOCRAT.

So far as this project can give us the advantages of a lucrative trade, by establishing on the coast of Africa a nation friendly toward us and united to us by peculiar ties—we do not suppose that even the manumitted and expatriated slave feels altogether hatefully toward the country and the people that held them in bonds—so far we think well of it. By all means let us help Ethiopia to lift up her hands unto God. To breaking up the Slave Trade and wiping out, even by gradual means, the dark curse of slavery from our soil, we say amen. There is time to think of all this.

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UTICA OBSERVER.

The proposition is a fair one and made by a gentleman, who desires, by encouraging colonization, to settle a sufficient number of free negroes in Africa, to finally put down the slave trade. It has been proved by the experience of the English Government as well as of our own, that it is impossible to end this trade by means of vessels-of-war, cruising off the African coast. The slavers since vessels-of war have been on the coast have used smaller



and fleetier vessels, and have added much to the horrors of the trade and the suffering of the kidnapped negroes.

#### HIGHLAND (NEWBURGH) COURIER.

##### SUPPRESSION OF THE SLAVE TRADE.—

It is now fully admitted that all the efforts of England to suppress the slave trade have failed, notwithstanding her expenditure of upwards of twenty millions sterling in the attempt; more good has been effected by the little American colony of Liberia on the western coast of Africa, than by the combined operations of all the great powers of Europe aided by the American squadron. This country expends nearly a million a year upon that squadron, which is almost, if not quite, useless.

It is conceded by the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, that the slave trade is increasing rapidly, and that the only way to suppress it is to establish colonies of free colored people on the African coast. Attempts have been made to induce a number of the colored people of the British West India Islands to emigrate to Africa, but as laborers are scarce, on those islands, and immigration instead of emigration is required, these attempts have utterly failed.

We have now in this country about half a million of free colored people whose presence is not required here, and most of whom could be induced to emigrate if proper means of conveying them to Liberia were afforded, together with a suitable provision for them on their arrival in that country. The time has at length arrived for something effectual to be done for the benefit of the free colored population, and upon no subject could Congress evince liberality with so much benefit to the country. If one-half the sum expended on the squadron off the coast of Africa were applied to the support of a line of war steamers, running in time of peace, with emigrants to Liberia, not only would the slave trade be destroyed, but in course of time civilization would be introduced into all parts of the benighted continent of Africa.

We understand that a proposition has been made to Congress to establish such a line of steamers, that they are to be of the largest class, and that they would be much more available in war than the ships which we now keep employed on the African coast. We can see no reasonable objection to this project, but on the contrary it appears clear to us that it merits

the support of Congress and the country at large. It is warmly advocated by the Colonization Society, and we trust that the several State Legislatures will readily aid in the good work, now that an adequate and comprehensive plan for the emigration of free negroes is fairly submitted for the approbation of the public.

#### PRESBYTERIAN.

We perceive that the proposal to establish this line of steamers is becoming entangled with the question of slavery, but we have been looking at it merely with reference to its influence on Africa, and rejoicing that a Committee in Congress have sufficient moral elevation and courage to bring the religious elements of the measure directly before the House as a powerful, even as the chief argument in favor of the gigantic scheme proposed.

The American Colonization Society is deeply interested in the measure, and is exerting all the moral power it can bring to bear for the purpose of securing its favorable consideration.

#### ROMAN (ROME, N. Y.) CITIZEN.

The starting of this project is doubtless in a great measure owing to the success of the American Colonization Society in establishing the colony of Liberia, and if this bill becomes a law and is carried into operation, but a few years will pass before that country will become one of some importance.

One of the greatest obstacles in the way of emancipation in this country, is the difficulty of disposing of the slaves after they are freed. It is contended by the upholders of Slavery in our southern States—and not without some show of *truth* in the assertion they so often make—that the condition of the free negroes at the North is not as happy and easy as that of the Slaves in the Southern States; this may be true if they draw their comparison between the most degraded portion here, and the favored few there. In Kentucky there is a large class of her citizens who are in favor of abolishing Slavery provided some way can be devised to remove the negroes from the State after they are liberated. This feeling is based on the experience of the free States with their colored population; they make the poorest citizens we have among us.

We cannot see any good reason why colonies cannot be planted along the African coast wherever slave stations now exist; and one half the money now spent every year by this country and England in maintaining vessels of war there, would furnish these colonies with the means of protecting themselves.

There is another view of the subject which will doubtless be far more pleasing to that class who know no God but Mammon, and who only value an undertaking by the *profits* it will yield. In a commercial point of view the subject is one of great importance. If colonies can be established along Africa's Western Coast by emigrants from the United States, and communication kept up with them by means of a line of monthly steamers, we should be likely to secure almost the whole of their trade. At the present time our trade there is merely nominal, and is surpassed by either of the West India Islands. Africa is prolific in the productions of nature, and only needs the assistance of civilization to enable her to gain her position among the nations of the earth. Shall not America have the honor of being her guardian and instructor in this undertaking? Time will determine.

## EXTRACTS FROM THE PENNSYLVANIA AND NEW JERSEY PRESS.

### THE PENNSYLVANIAN.

WHAT SHALL BE DONE WITH THE FREE NEGROES?—The proper and practical answer to this question will do more to settle the difficulties growing out of the slave controversy than any other process, no matter how cogently presented, or how philosophically argued. Our people are a common sense people. That suggestion which strikes them as most utilitarian—or, in other words, most rational—they seize upon with avidity, and finally apply it in practice.

It is not often that we see this trait of American character so fully displayed as in the case of the recent Report of the Naval Committee of the House of Representatives, in favor of establishing a line of mail steam ships to the West Coast of Africa, and thence, via the Mediterranean, to London, designed to promote the emigration of free persons of color from the United States to

Liberia. The project developed and advocated in that Report has taken hold upon the public mind in all quarters.

No reflecting man can deliberate upon this subject without feeling that it is one that involves considerations vitally affecting the perpetuity of our political and social existence. It is intertwined with the whole fabric of our government and our society.

The present condition of affairs was predicted by that remarkable statesman, Thomas Jefferson, as long ago as 1801, when, with startling accuracy, he drew a picture of the future. The very plan now embodied in the masterly Report of Mr. Stanton, he himself shadowed forth, as the best and surest way to overcome an evil which he foresaw was certain to be a monstrous one.

Those political casuists who have assailed the report of Mr. Stanton will be called upon to correct their record, when they find how auspiciously it originated, and how overwhelmingly it is sustained by the opinions of our statesmen and our people.

We have already stated, in another article, the objects proposed to be accomplished by the friends of the proposition reported upon by the Naval Committee of the House of Representatives; and we might fill columns with expressions in favor of it. The advantages to the free people of color, that are sure to result from this project, will not fail to strike the most superficial observer.

There about 500,000 free colored people in the United States—a number equal to that of all the Slaves at the time of the Declaration of Independence, in 1776. The number of slaves manumitted to be sent to Liberia will hereafter be very large, especially from the middle States, if Congress will aid the cause of colonization in the way proposed.

The following table shows the number of the free colored population of the United States up to 1840:

Year.	Total number.	Actual Increase.
1790,	59,467	
1800,	108,398	48,931
1810,	186,446	78,048
1820,	238,197	51,751
1830,	319,599	81,402
1840,	386,235	66,636

As before observed, the free colored population is now estimated at half a million, and it is rapidly increasing. The annual increase of the black race in the United States is not less than 70,000. It may be fairly assumed that most of the blacks now free can be induced to emigrate, and that but few of those who may be hereafter manumitted will remain in the country.

Nothing is required but the stimulus which the establishment of the proposed line of steamships will give to the cause of emigration: there will be no want of funds to provide the emigrants with every thing required for their comfort; and when the free colored people learn that they can go to Liberia in twelve or fourteen days, and return again, if they do not like it; that they are certain of obtaining profitable employment, and are assured the means of subsistence, all objections to emigrating will be removed. The most intelligent amongst them will influence others to go to a country where they can, in addition to advancing their own interests, be of vast service to their fellow creatures in abolishing the Slave Trade, and civilizing a quarter of the world where the missionary enterprises of the whites have all signally failed.

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FROM THE SAME.

AMERICAN COLONIZATION.—We find in the New York *Evening Post* a series of attacks upon this project, and will endeavor to state what are the objections raised by that paper to the report of the Naval Committee of the House of Representatives "in favor of the establishment of a line of Mail Steamships to the Western Coast of Africa, and thence, via the Mediterranean, to London, designed to promote the emigration of free persons of color from the United States to Liberia—also to increase the steam navy and to extend the commerce of the United States."

The objections of the N. Y. *Evening Post* are as follows:

1. That the contractors will make a profit of \$1,200,000 on building the ships, as they propose to charge the government \$900,000 each for them, being \$300,000 more than Collins's ships for the New York and Liverpool trade have cost.

2. That the contractors ask for "revenue privileges not enjoyed by any other shippers on the globe," as they require to be "permitted to discharge the products of both countries, (Liberia and the United States,) in their respective ports, free of duty."

3. That the only advantages to be derived by government from the contract, are "the right to take any of these ships for public purposes, on paying their cost and ten per cent. commission," the transportation of a few letters to and from Liberia, and cheap and rapid communication with that country.

4. That no provision whatever is made for the transportation of mails, and that a new contract will have to be made hereafter with the company for that service, upon such terms as may then be agreed upon.

5. That there will not be a sufficient number of emigrants to Liberia to warrant the establishment of a line of steamers to touch at that republic.

As to the first four objections, they are all founded upon misapprehensions of the facts. Most of the errors are to be accounted for by the circumstance that the *Evening Post* thought fit to assume that the report of the committee was an echo of the memorial of Judge Bryan and others, and so proceeded to criticise the report and the bill without seeing either, or being apprised of their contents. Unfortunately for the accuracy of the *Post*, the report of the committee and the memorial differ from each other in the most essential particulars—for whereas, the latter spoke only of a line of steamers to run to and from Liberia, the Naval Committee recommend a line to run to the mouth of the Mediterranean, and thence to the principal ports of Spain, Portugal and France, returning to the United States via London, and bringing the mails from all those points. Hence the facetious remarks of the *Post* about the Liberian mail bags fall to the ground.

With respect to the first objection, the answer is, that the contractors cannot make any profit whatever out of the Government in the building of the ships, for the simple reason that they are to build them at their own expense, and repay the Government with interest whatever advances may be made to enable them to complete the contract.

As to the presumed cost of the ships being one-third higher than that of Collins's, it is to be observed, that the proposed ships are to be at least one-third larger than those employed on the New York and Liverpool line.

As to the second objection, the committee expressly report against the privilege demanded, in these terms:

"The committee do not recommend the acceptance of the proposition of the memorialists that they shall be permitted to import the produce of this country free of duty; on the contrary, it is believed to be better, for obvious reasons, to enter into no such stipulations, but to confine the remuneration, whatever it may be, to a direct payment of money."

The reply to the third objection is, that it is incorrect in point of fact. But the prin-



cial advantage to be derived by the Government is the transportation of the mails from southern Europe, France and England, which the *Post* altogether overlooked. Nor is it correct to say that the Government, upon taking any of the ships, is to pay their cost and ten per cent. commission. On the contrary, the committee recommend that the Secretary of the Navy shall have the right to take them "on paying the value thereof, such value not exceeding the cost, to be ascertained by appraisers mutually chosen by the Secretary and the contractors."

The fourth objection is also incorrect in point of fact. The report expressly mentions the carrying of the mails and Government agents.

As to the fifth and last objection, we have been specially called upon by the *Evening Post* to answer it, and we do so by a quotation from the report of the committee, which the *Post* would have done well to study before venturing its attack.

"That the free negroes of the United States will be induced to go in large numbers to Liberia, if a quick and pleasant passage by steam vessels be provided, and suitable preparation be made for them on their arrival by the Colonization Society, cannot admit of any doubt.

"The funds of that society, augmented probably twenty-fold, will then be available, almost exclusively, for the comfortable establishment of the emigrants in their new homes, the expense of transportation chargeable to the society being merely nominal.

"It is estimated that there are not less than 500,000 free colored people in the several States, and that the annual increase therein of the black race is 70,000 per annum. With respect to slaves who may hereafter be manumitted, no doubt such manumission will almost in every instance be upon the condition that the parties shall avail themselves of the opportunity of emigrating to Liberia."

#### FROM THE SAME.

Whatever may be the difference of opinion, says the *Providence Journal*, in regard to the merits and claims of the projected "Ebony Line" of steamships between this country and Liberia, whether the plan be one of real benevolence or only of individual speculation, it is certain that the progress of African colonization is one of the most interesting events of the age, and that the Republic of Liberia is entitled to the good wishes of every friend of civilization.

especially of every citizen of the United States. There is no precedent of colonial importance and prosperity so rapidly acquired, and under such difficulties and impediments. There has been no colonial enterprise so full of the promise of high results to the happiness of a great portion of the human race. What diplomacy, and treaties, and navies have failed to accomplish, the peaceful influence of commerce will speedily and inevitably effect, carrying with it not the violence and bloodshed which attend all forcible measures for objects however good in themselves, but a thousand blessings in its train.—*N. O. Crescent*.

This is taking a just and an elevated view of a subject that, sooner or later, must command the attention of Congress and the country,—and the sooner the better. Statesmen may deliberate—cynics denounce—factionists misrepresent—but after all the great fact remains unshaken and unsullied—that the only way to promote the welfare of the colored race, and the peace and perpetuity of our Country, is to make Liberia on the Western Coast of Africa attractive to the emigrant from this country, by means of a regular Commercial intercourse with the United States, and by giving to the colored race in that region the advantages of association with those of their own blood who are their intellectual superiors. A child must see that however the question is mystified in other respects, in this respect it assumes shape and substance, and compels all to admit its great weight and importance.

Our present free colored population is an alarming subject for the statesman and the patriot to dwell upon. Long ago Mr. Jefferson saw what the Future would produce in reference to it; and Mr. Monroe and Mr. Madison both gave it serious reflection. All of these sages pointed to the plan, though not in distinct terms, now sought to be carried out by the projectors of the line of steamers between this country and the West Coast of Africa, for the purpose of affording a safe and easy access to those regions, of the free colored population, and to establish between the two Republics those bonds of commercial affinity and intercourse which are so essentially the handmaids of Civilization, of Christianity, and of Freedom.

#### PHILADELPHIA NORTH AMERICAN.

[From the Washington Correspondent.]

This is a synopsis of the project, embracing its principal features. At no distant day,



our commerce with Liberia, if now cherished while in its infancy, according to the wise colonial policy which Great Britain has always pursued, will become of value and importance. It is in the power of the United States to direct and command it, by encouraging emigration and by establishing relations of friendly intercourse. This scheme is commended to favor, among other reasons, as a more efficient substitute for the Naval station on the coast of Africa, which must involve an annual outlay, exceeding by hundreds of thousands of dollars the expense that would be incurred in the proposed enterprise. Besides sacrificing the health of officers and men, the force thus employed has failed to realize the anticipations of those who negotiated it into existence in the treaty of 1842.

This proposition, if I am rightly informed, has received the co-operation of the Colonization Society here, and is most favorably entertained by leading statesmen in both Houses of Congress, without regard to party or section. If it can be presented under favorable auspices, and in such a manner as to engage the serious attention of Congress, I am persuaded it may be carried, by engrafting some modifications upon the general plan. No such hope is entertained while slavery is permitted to engross consideration, to the exclusion of other and much more important subjects of public interest.

#### NEWARK (N. J.) ADVERTISER.

Such is the beneficent plan now before the House. Should it receive the sanction of Congress, and be efficiently carried out, the good it will confer upon this country, Africa and the world, it is impossible to estimate. The colored race at large will participate in its benefits the most of all. Their chance for happiness and complete freedom in countries inhabited and ruled by whites, is not great now; we fear it is not destined to be greater hereafter. While their present incongruous condition lasts, they must necessarily be inferior and discontented; they are freemen, but always to be governed—citizens without a state—a people without a country.

#### EXTRACTS FROM THE NEW ENGLAND PRESS.

THE BOSTON POST.

It is hardly necessary to enlarge upon the benefits to arise to all parties concern-

ed, from a colonization of the western coast of Africa by means of free African races who have been subjected to civilization. The natural resources of the country invite the industry and sagacity of the inhabitants to the development of immense wealth, the climate offers the negro those influences under which alone he reaches his highest powers, and the vast uncultivated territories present a practical mode of settling those difficulties which distract us as a nation, by receiving the objects of our contention, and supporting them as our allies and colonists beyond the sea. The growth of Liberia from its earliest settlement, has been an object of the greatest interest to every philanthropist; and while it has been looked upon as containing the germ of a strong and cultivated colony on the coast, which should receive the fruits of emancipation, it has also been recognized as the spot from whence influences for the suppression of the slave trade should spring, more powerful than the combined fleets of other nations blockading every bay and harbor. The devotion, therefore, of a substantial line of steamships to the growth of this colony, becomes at once a matter of interest in a philanthropic point of view. And when we learn from this report that even in the commencement, while but two ships are finished and ready for sea, from 8,000 to 12,000 emigrants may be carried annually from the United States, the impossibility of transportation which has always clogged the steps of colonizationists seems to be entirely removed.

Deeming it unnecessary to urge the claims of this enterprise more fully on the grounds of its philanthropic capabilities—in a matter which has been presented in all its forms to the mind, and to the heart for the last thirty years—we wish to examine the commercial business it will meet with, and will undoubtedly increase and develope. The almost unexplored wealth of Africa, consisting of gold dust, dyewoods, ivory, tropical fruits, indigo, and spices, in the region of Liberia, and of wool skins, &c., along the coast to the Cape, may thus be brought into easy possession of the consuming markets of Europe and America, under whose stimulating care the resources of the country and the industry of the inhabitants may be almost indefinitely increased. That wealth and commercial prosperity which are alone the foundation of all flourishing colonies, thus afforded this section of the earth, will inevitably bring it into a valuable position as a nation. Not that three steamers are to do this—but

they are to open the way, and point to the result.

But it is not our communication with the coast of Africa alone that is to be benefited by this line of steamers. The trade of the Mediterranean, yearly increasing in value and importance, is thus to be brought under the influence of steam. Entering the Straits of Gibraltar, the line offers an opportunity for American enterprise to connect with it fast and commodious boats, fitted to take the circuit from Marseilles to Constantinople and Smyrna, and along the African coast again to Gibraltar.

A large class of steamships, devoted to business in peace, and ready to receive an armament, for the protection of that business in time of war, has strong claims upon the patronage of our government. At present our navy, with all the historical glory which gathers around it, presents a meagre statistical table when compared with those of other nations.

England is penetrating every sea and ocean, from New Orleans to Canton, from London to the Cape of Good Hope, until her steam marine amounts to more than one hundred and fifteen large ships. With our increasing commerce and territory—the former augmenting the revenue, and the latter multiplying our defensive obligations—we may well afford, and in fact feel it to be a duty to add in every shape to our naval force. The combination of active commercial service with the duties of the navy, applying to the former the reserve force which grows out of a liberal organization of the latter, will unquestionably give our commerce an additional stimulus in that extraordinary growth already attained in the hands of private enterprise.

The measure proposed by the committee, while it brings relief to a bitter party question, prospects of colonization to an unfortunate race of beings, and the development of civilization and commerce to one corner of the least cultivated continent on the globe, opens new and rich avenues for enterprise and wealth.

#### THE HARTFORD COURANT.

But the proposed Bill contemplates another very important object, which is the colonization of free blacks, by their means, on the coast of Africa. They feel that to prevent the further increase of the African race on this continent is an object worthy of the attention of the government, for in this way, they think that the sectional irritation exist-

ing in the country may be avoided, and the slave trade the most effectually suppressed. The Committee propose, then, to employ these vessels, under the control of the American Colonization Society, to carry to Africa all such colored persons as wish to emigrate to Liberia, at the cheap rate of ten dollars a head for adults, and five for children.—They agree that good men at the South would be much more ready to manumit their slaves, could such a refuge be provided for them. Their living among us, the committee think, can never be agreeable to the white race, nor advantageous to themselves, and if such facilities are furnished for their transportation they would soon make Liberia a powerful nation, and rescue the whole Western coast of Africa from barbarism.

The effect of this removal upon the suppression of the slave trade would be very great. Christian colonies of an industrious nation would be settled all along the coast and extend their influence into the interior over the savage tribes whose pastime is war and whose profit is the dealing in slaves. Rich tracts of the earth's surface, now lying waste from want of cultivation, would be productive. A commerce of the most profitable kind would spring up on the African coast, and prosperity and national happiness follow.

#### THE PORTSMOUTH JOURNAL,

Alluding to the various lines of steamers says:—"Foremost amongst these is the magnificent design to establish a line of first class steamers to Liberia. This plan has been submitted to the Naval Committee of the House of Representatives which has given the subject a full and mature consideration and has reported strongly in favor of the project. It is to be regretted that this report has not been extensively circulated and considered."

THE REPUBLICAN HERALD, PROVIDENCE, (R. I.)  
[Oct. 2d, 1850.]

STEAMER LINE FOR AFRICA AND THE SOUTH OF EUROPE.—A report was made by the proper committee of the House in favor of the establishment of mail steamers in a line to the coast of Africa, and thence to certain points in the South of Europe. The leading object being an increase of the steam navy, but with the view also of facilitating the emigration of the African race to Liberia

or other colonies upon the coast, and to extend the commercial intercourse of the United States. This report has been received with as much favor by the public as we could well expect from its novelty and its nature. But if it be thought expedient to enlarge the present number of war steamers, perhaps there is not another route that could present so good a prospect of benefit to the interests of humanity. The effect of such colonies as might be established upon the coast, in preventing the slave trade and introducing civilization and christianity into that quarter of the world, would be worthy the ambition of the best of nations. Some of the greatest names of our country are recorded as evidence in support of the expediency of colonization upon the coast. Mr. Jefferson in 1811 said: "I have long ago made up my mind on this subject, and have no hesitation in saying I have ever thought it the most desirable measure for gradually drawing off this part of our population, (the free blacks.) Going from a country possessing all the useful arts, they might be the means of transplanting them among the inhabitants of Africa, and would thus carry back to the country of their origin the seed of civilization, which might render their sojourning here a blessing in the end to that country. Nothing is more to be wished than that the United States would undertake to make such an establishment on the coast of Africa. Exclusive of motives of humanity the commercial advantages to be derived from it might defray all its expenses." We might proceed and quote, in approbation of such benevolent designs as are embraced in the plan of colonization upon the coast, the language of Madison, Munroe, and Marshall. We might present Mr. Clay as president, and Mr. Webster as vice president of a Society for that purpose, to say nothing of the resolutions of different state legislatures upon this subject, as those of Virginia, Maryland, Kentucky, Tennessee, and others among the slave-holding and non-slaveholding states. The people have been, (and probably will be still more,) in favor of colonizing the blacks—and we believe the African steam line will attract more and more the attention and support of the friends of colonization, and eventually be established as one of the greatest and most benevolent measures of the age.

## EXTRACTS FROM THE OHIO, INDIANA, AND MICHIGAN PRESS.

CINCINNATI DAILY ENQUIRER.

**LIBERIA AND ITS PROSPECTS.**—The colored people of New York held a meeting last week for the purpose of hearing Mr. Moore, a citizen of Liberia, speak in reference to the present condition and future prospects of the new Republic. The gathering was a large one, and the proceedings very interesting.

It seems to us no reasonable man can doubt that Liberia opens up to the colored population of these States the only path they can travel, to build up for themselves a nationality, or elevate themselves, socially or politically, in the scale of humanity. They cannot hope for either by remaining in this country. Nor do we think that one of that class, who is possessed of energy and a desire to assume an elevated position among his fellows, will tarry here longer than he can find the means to carry him away.

Mr. Moore endeavored to impress these views strongly on his hearers, and we hope not without effect. He also spoke of the climate and productions of the country, and the extent of the power of the Republic at this time to protect its people.

From a sketch of Mr. Moore's remarks in the *Journal of Commerce*, says the *Baltimore Sun*, we perceive that Mr. Moore spoke first about the products of the land, descending upon the agricultural facilities and fertility of the soil. Cassada, an excellent substitute for bread, he said, would yield upon a single acre enough for a family of twenty persons! The sweet potato, yams, lime beans, and various other substitutes for bread, all begin to be fit for use in six months, when the new emigrant is protected from all fear of hunger, and may turn his attention to raising articles for market and commerce.

Ginger, arrow root, which is raised abundantly, and mixed with wheat flour, makes the most delicate bread in the world, Indian Corn, Rice, Red Rice, Bogan, and Mauman, constitute articles of domestic use and commerce.

"Of all our productions," says Mr. Moore, "for export and commerce, Coffee is the most important. I am acquainted with coffee, and have never tasted any equal to ours in Liberia. We have, I suppose, twenty varieties, of which at least fifteen kinds are growing on my own farm, of some 7,000 trees. In 1849, I sent 196 lbs.



to the United States for a market, and it was pronounced by many judges superior to the Java or the Mocha."

Cocoa, of a vastly better quality than our chocolate, is raised abundantly. Of vegetables, cabbages, radishes, tomatoes, bananas, plantains of two varieties, of which it requires a man to lift a single bunch; these and numerous other kinds abound. But this may suffice as a means of living.

We annex the remarks of Mr. Moore on the more interesting topics of social and political life. He says:

"Liberia offers, as its greatest gift, a free country. Our own race are in power and honor. You have heard of it, we know; and therefore prize it. We are a free and independent State, having a Constitution and Bill of Rights, like that of the United States. We do our own voting, while you in most of this country do not. I visited Washington City before I came here, and the condition of the poor people pained my very heart. I wanted almost to force them to enjoy our privileges.

"I feel no inclination to return to Washington, but if I do, it will be to induce or almost to compel some to go with me, for we will do them good.

"We are yet a small people and small population. Much has been done for us, and yet much remains to be done. We are, as it were, on the fringes of Africa. We are free, and rejoice at the present, and hope for the future. Our Republic may yet extend, as do the United States, from one ocean to another, from the Atlantic to the Indian. When we recall to mind the short time it has taken America to attain her greatness, what shall forbid us to hope such a future for ourselves, and that a vast emigration shall yet take place to Liberia? What may not Liberia become? We expect much, we look and labor for much.

"Already Liberia, like a young Hercules, has strangled the hydra slave trade for 300 or 400 miles along the coast, and it is destined to complete the work. England is co-operating, and by keeping a blockade of Gallinas with two vessels, will aid in our present negotiations for that slave mart, and when obtained, there will be none from Senegal to the Niger, over 1,600 miles. We are proud of our country and its influence, and because we enjoy all the rights of men.

"I came not to America to excite an infatuated hope, but by such statements of facts as I may make, to diffuse information among you.

"I rejoice that so many in America are

engaged in seeking the liberty of my people; but if all else fails, Liberia will remain a refuge, and she will receive you with open arms. Compare our Constitution and Bill of Rights with that of America, and ours is not inferior. We are our own law-makers, we do our own voting, and elect our own officers. We have, in one word, a free government."

#### INDIANA STATE SENTINEL.

Two years ago the friends of Liberia, in this State, commenced a system of petition and correspondence, inviting the attention of the statesmen of the nation to the subject of a National plan of colonization, and hitherto success has crowned their labors, for the nation is fully ripe for the movement; and what we rejoice in is the fact, that our own State has nobly taken the lead and kept it; "the joint resolutions" of our General Assembly on the subject of African colonization having been published, with expressions of much favor, in the leading journals of our own country, and have found their way to Europe and Africa.

Our friends in the South have taken advantage of this favorable expression of public sentiment, and have introduced the Bryan proposition, to aid the government in the work of establishing "a line or lines of transports to ply between this country and the coast of Africa, facilitating emigration and absorbing the growing trade of that country."

This plan of transports is now before Congress, and the friends of that measure are watching its fate with intense interest. The destiny of thousands of children of Africa is involved in the measure, and the man that opposes it must be able to give a good reason for doing so, for its friends will require a reason.

#### INDIANA STATE JOURNAL.

The advantages to our country of the civilization and christianization of Africa by means of the transportation of our free colored people to her shores cannot be calculated. It would open up to us an immense commerce, as with us they would be more inclined to trade than with any other nation. Their feelings and sympathies would remain with us, as is evinced by the concluding paragraph of Governor Roberts's letter.

We hope the proposition before Congress may become a law before the adjournment of that body.

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DETROIT ADVERTISER.

The tendency of these various causes operating together must be to precipitate sooner or later upon the Gulf and Atlantic states, (which can only be operated to advantage by slave labor, in consequence of the peculiarities of their soils and climates) the entire slave population of the more western of the slave states. The condition of the white population of this extreme southern region, when this takes place, must be barbarous and insecure in the extreme, and unless some means should be adopted to drain off this rapidly increasing accession of blacks, must inevitably result sooner or later in the preponderance of blacks, and a *war of races* which political economists teach us is ever a *war of extermination*.

The measures now recommended by the committee on Naval Affairs in the House of Representatives, and ably elaborated in the report of Hon. Mr. Stanton of Tenn., chairman of that committee, presents a *practical means* by which the manumission of slaves will be encouraged—the unnatural state of things that must arise upon the preponderance of the black race avoided—the Navy of the United States strengthened and maintained with economy and efficiency—and the cause of true humanity, both to blacks and whites, subserved and advanced.

The early introduction of the colored race upon this continent in plain violation of the plans of Divine Providence, has entailed upon us as a nation a succession of sore evils, and by the inflexible laws of nature we are now called upon to atone to nature for the infraction of her decrees. Let us do it in that way which humanity suggests.

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EXTRACTS FROM THE MARYLAND, VIRGINIA, KENTUCKY AND TENNESSEE PRESS.

THE REPUBLICAN, Richmond Va.

AFRICAN COLONIZATION—LINE OF STEAMERS TO THE WESTERN COAST OF AFRICA.—Our readers are aware that an able report has been recently presented to the House of Representatives, by Hon.

F. P. Stanton, chairman of the committee on Naval Affairs, in favor of the establishment of a line of mail steamers to the Western coast of Africa, and thence *via* the Mediterranean to London. The Richmond Inquirer states that the report of the committee is in response to a memorial of certain gentlemen, amongst whom is Beverley Tucker, Esq., formerly of this city, praying the establishment of this line, designed to promote the colonization of free persons of color, to suppress the African slave trade, to carry the mail, and to extend the commerce of the United States. We extract from the Enquirer the following description of the measure:

"Mr. Stanton, after giving a summary of the action of the governments of the United States and Great Britain, in relation to the employment of mail steamers fitted for war purposes, and built under the inspection of government officers, of which ocean steamers Great Britain has already an aggregate number of one hundred and fifteen, states that the committee believes 'that the recent increase of our territory, on the Pacific and in the Gulf of Mexico, forms an additional reason for a considerable augmentation of our steam navy, whether by direct addition to the navy proper, or by the encouragement of lines of steam packets, to be established by private enterprise, under the auspices of Government.' Inasmuch as the idea has already been adopted by the General Government, that the vast expenditures required in naval armaments might be made subservient to the purposes of commerce in time of peace, the report devotes but a small space to its enforcement. It is chiefly in view of the important bearing that this movement has upon the removal of free persons of color from this country to the coast of Africa, and of suppressing the slave trade, that the committee recommends it to the favorable attention of Congress.

"We think the merits of this measure are sufficiently weighty to command the favor of the whole country. While it commends itself to our judgment by the commercial advantages arising from it, through which the contractors expect to derive by far the larger portion of income, its connection with the objects of the Colonization Society must serve to link to it the sympathies of all, save impracticable abolitionists. Virginia, from her early history to the present time, has been friendly to the purposes of the Colonization Society. Whilst a colony, her house of Burgesses enacted

laws against the foreign slave trade, and the Legislature of the State, in December, 1816, a few months before the institution of the Colonization Society, adopted a resolution, requesting the Executive to correspond with the President of the United States, for the purpose of obtaining a *territory on the coast of Africa* for free persons of color. Any plan which, with anything like a probability of success, is proposed to remove the evil of her free colored population, or even to diminish it, has ever received the careful attention of her people. A very interesting statement of the action of Virginia, and some of her most distinguished sons, is to be found in the Appendix to Mr. Stanton's report. She has recently shown her interest in this matter, by her late generous annual appropriation in aid of the Colonization Society."

The *Enquirer* proceeds in a very forcible manner to describe the rapid progress, the rich resources of Africa, and the commercial and philanthropic reasons for this great enterprise. It appears that seven thousand have already emigrated to Liberia; that eighty thousand natives have already become citizens of the Republic; that treaty stipulations have been made by her with tribes, numbering 200,000, for the suppression of the slave trade; and that she is gradually extending her laws and institutions from the British Colony to the Gold Coast. The *Enquirer* justly remarks: "Infant colonies in every age of the world have had great difficulties to encounter. In 1618, the eleventh year of the settlement of Virginia, the colony only numbered six hundred souls. When Sir Walter Raleigh in 1590 sent out his relief to his second large expedition of 1587, 'not a vestige of them was to be found.' Where is a parallel to the growth and prosperity of Liberia?—Does not her history, even in its trials and reverses, give to the most doubting the assurance that hereafter there will be, in Western Africa, a mighty Republic, with our laws and language, commanding the respect and confidence of the world? Is it not a glorious destiny for us, to give back the light which Europe once borrowed from Africa, and to make American commerce the handmaiden to spread liberty and learning on the now darkened land of the Ptolemies?"

The *Enquirer* thus proceeds:

"That Africa can sustain commercial connections with the world, her history heretofore and the facts stated by Mr. Stanton sufficiently prove. A magnificent

opportunity, consecrated too by most peculiar reasons, is now offered to us, to use the effective agency of steam, in developing her vast resources. Africa is no desolate, frightful, desert waste, with all her interior one vast blank, as our old maps seem to indicate. If it has its Zahara, it has its extensive forests, its noble streams, and its abundant tropical productions. Mr. Ashman, long ago, wrote this: 'The whole country between Cape Mount and Trade Town is rich in soil and other natural advantages, and capable of sustaining a numerous and civilized population, beyond almost any other country on earth. Leaving the seaboard, the traveller everywhere, at the distance of a few miles, enters upon a uniform upland country, of moderate elevation, intersected by innumerable rivulets, abounding in springs of unfailing water, and covered with a verdure which knows no other changes except those which refresh and renew its beauties. The country directly on the sea, although verdant and fruitful to a high degree, is found everywhere to yield, in both respects, to the interior.' The gentlemen who have offered this proposition to the government must be well satisfied as to the profits to be derived from commercial intercourse with Africa, or they would never have left so wide a margin for their commercial business to fill up. By the present proposed arrangement, the government, for the sum of \$480,000 per annum, about one half the cost of building a single steamer, organizes and efficiently establishes this commercial arrangement—has its mails carried to Africa and Southern Europe—furnishes a direct swift communication to those and all intermediate points, and, while thus cultivating the arts of peace, has, in the event of a war, three first-class war steamers put immediately, and almost in fighting trim, into its service.

"Moreover, the Government, by force of treaties, is required to keep a certain naval force on the African coast, for the purpose of suppressing the slave trade.—What is the actual expense attending this arrangement, we are not informed. At present, we only know it is the burial place of our gallant officers and brave crews—a sort of briny Golgotha—a station, perhaps, where Providence never intended a son of Japhet should be kept on any duty for any length of time, but where the negro, especially if from South of Mason and Dixon's line, could live and would live well. With reference to the North Carolina emigrants to Liberia, Mr. Ashman



says, 'all the change they have undergone seems to be less a *disease* than a *salutary effort* of nature to accommodate the physical system of its subjects to the influence of the tropical climate.' Moreover, it has been fully ascertained, that for all effectual purposes of suppressing the slave trade, the African squadrons approach a humbug! In 1847, 84,356 persons were exported from Africa to Cuba and Brazil."

That it is clearly the duty of all civilized nations to unite in putting down the slave trade, is the unanimous opinion of the world. Upon no other point connected with the subject are all nations so fully agreed, unless it be that the measures heretofore and now employed for that purpose are entirely ineffectual. Simply, then, as an efficient means of extirpating the slave trade, the projected line to Africa should command the support of all philanthropists. We are not surprised, however, that it is opposed by abolitionists, for we have never imagined that they were guided by enlightened and genuine humanity. Should the plan however fail in its appeals to benevolence, it will not be without effect in its claims upon the commercial interests of the country. These have been well set forth in the arguments for the report. Becraft, a daring and intelligent English voyager, has years ago dissipated the delusion, that the interior of Africa is a "desert waste." He has shown that it is accessible to navigation and trade; that the climate is as healthy as that of the tropics generally; that there are regions of beautiful and fertile country, affording opportunities for legitimate commerce of indefinite extension. This adventurous traveller explored the river Niger within forty miles of Timbuctoo. He has thrown light on thousands of miles of richly fertile and wooded country, watered by that great stream; and upon the ivory, vegetable tallow, peppers, indigo, cotton, wool, palm oil, dye woods, timber woods, skins, and a great variety of produce which invite the trade. To carry on this trade in the vessels which navigate the river, it is necessary to have black crews. The London Spectator remarks, "Of course the free blacks educated in the West India trade will become useful workmen in penetrating the native land of their race. We must depend, at least for generations to come, on the black race to supply the bulk of the crews." For our own part, we do not see why our own country should not compete with Britain for the rich trade of Africa. Nor do we know any

more efficient method of competition than the proposed line of steamers.

#### THE DAILY RICHMOND ENQUIRER.

FREE NEGROES—LINE OF STEAMERS, &c.—The following article, from the Pennsylvania of the 30th ult., is well worth the consideration of every patriot. The Christian world has long sought the extinction of the African slave trade. Politicians have taken up the subject, and several of the great powers have put in service the best skill of their Navies, to effect the object. Millions of money have been expended, and thousands of lives sacrificed upon the coast of Africa, in search of slavers, and yet it is believed that the inhuman traffic has not been sensibly diminished. Our own Government has done its full share of this "labor in vain;" and it is more than probable that the present naval operations against the slave trade will, in a few years, be abandoned, in despair of effecting any good, unless some new turn can be given to it, promising better results. The scheme of colonizing the coast with negroes from the United States, carrying with them Christianity, and more of civilization than perhaps has ever fallen to the lot of the deluded sons of Africa, by which, in a few years, a cordon of Christian settlements might be established along the entire border of the country visited by slavers, it would seem, might promise much good. The introduction of law, government, and religion, and legal commerce with civilized nations, (and particularly with the United States, Great Britain, and France,) would greatly contribute to the accomplishment of the object.

Fifty years ago, the expense of removing the free negroes, to *any part of the world*, could have been borne by the State without complaint, or even forty years ago; but now it has become a subject of weighty import. Not only will it require the employment of a large amount of shipping facilities, but the collection and expenditure of considerable sums of money. Virginia can and will raise the funds necessary to transport her free negroes, if vessels can be procured to carry them to Africa.

A line of steamers from the United States by Africa to England, or other parts of Europe, making regular trips, would add greatly to the enterprise, and would cost the Government no more prob-

ably than the support of naval operations on the slave coast, now guaranteed by treaty. Such line would necessarily come into the Chesapeake Bay, Charleston, S. C., or New Orleans, or probably into all. The steamers would go where free negroes could be received for transportation; and as it is not probable that many could be induced to emigrate from the Northern States, the necessary consequence would be that the transportation would almost entirely be from the South. The South would therefore secure the African commerce, and might find these Government steamers very useful in promoting a direct trade between the Southern ports and Europe.

From the remarkable increase of free negroes throughout the State, it would appear that no time should be lost in arresting the evil. The Western part of the State should lend a helping hand to this great moral work. The mischief, though but little felt there as yet, is increasing with uncommon rapidity, and promises an abundant yield in a few years, if not arrested.

#### THE WINCHESTER (VA.) PAPER.

THE LIBERIA STEAMERS.—It is now considered possible that the important scheme of connecting the coast of Africa and our ports by steam, and providing a retreat for our free negro population, will pass at the present session of Congress. We sincerely hope that it will, as things will not hereafter be so favorable to its adoption. The present feeling at Washington ought to be taken advantage of for the accomplishment of a measure which will benefit alike North and South, and do more to advance the noble ends of the Colonization Society than anything yet tried. Without some means of transporting emigrants as cheaply as the applicants engage to do, the recent law of this State, appropriating \$30,000 annually, will be nugatory, for it contains a restriction on the sum to be paid for each person much below the present cost of his passage. At \$10 each, one thousand would be sent out annually, independently of those who would be sent by their former owners, and those who would pay their own passage.

#### THE WATCHMAN AND OBSERVER, Richmond, Va.

Hitherto the cause of African colonization has received very little aid from our

National Legislature; and yet it has so far succeeded as to command the respect of all who witness its results. The Westminster Review says of it: "The Americans are successfully planting free negroes on the coast of Africa; a greater event probably in its consequences than any that has occurred since Columbus set sail for the New World." Among these consequences may be mentioned, *First*, the removal of a class of our population who belong to a different and subordinate race, and who can never rise to the state of social equality with the masses of the people. In the free, as well as in the slave States, their relative position is by no means desirable. And the policy of the one no less than of the other—but for different reasons—is not only opposed to their increase, but demands their removal. But the most effectual method of remedying this evil, and carrying into effect this policy, is to colonize the free blacks in the land of their fathers. Another result of of such an enterprise, as proved by the experiments already made,—is the civilizing and christianizing power which these colonists will exert upon the millions of that benighted land. Here they occupy a low grade in the scale of society; but, low as it is, it is immeasurably higher than that of their kindred, who have never associated with a Christian people. And through them the arts of civilized life, and the pure gospel of the Son of God, will effect, in time, a wonderful change in the character, and habits, and manners of that immense population.

But the prospective advantages in a commercial point of view are amply sufficient to justify the proposed outlay, irrespective of the favorable influence which the scheme is adapted to exert on both lands.

#### THE BALTIMORE CLIPPER.

There are some members of Congress who appear to be always ready to "strain at a gnat," and yet will "swallow a camel" without scruple. If Congress could constitutionally vote the public money to relieve the people of Ireland, or to assist the poor of the District of Columbia during a severe winter—if thousands and hundreds of thousands of dollars can be applied to the purchase of books to become the private property of members—we cannot discover the unconstitutionality of an act to rid the country of an evil which threatens to prey upon its vitals, and to destroy the whole system.

We must not shut our eyes to consequences, but prepare to meet them. In the natural course of events, unless colonization be adopted on an extensive scale, the free persons of color in the United States must so increase as to become a formidable body. And how is that body to be disposed of? Can it be amalgamated with the whites and admitted to equal privileges, as in Mexico? This we conceive to be impossible, notwithstanding the sympathy for the blacks professed by abolitionists. Shall they be exterminated? The idea is too horrible to be entertained. They must, then, be sent out of the country; and the sooner the work of transportation shall be commenced, the better it will be for them and the nation. Individual enterprise has made the beginning; but it remains for the general government to consummate the work. The free States will be the first to move on the subject, for they will first and most severely experience the evils of a free mixed population. Ohio is already complaining, and Pennsylvania will soon follow; for the accumulation of free persons of color in these States, and in New York, will be rapid—and, with the increase will the evil be augmented. They are already demanding an equal participation in civil affairs with the whites; and they have their public lecturers to enforce their demands. It is hazarding little to assert, that they will never be granted to the extent desired; and what will result from the refusal is yet to be ascertained.

We rejoice that a majority of Senators voted for the appropriation to reimburse the Colonization Society, and hope that the bill to establish a line of steamers to Africa will become a law—as it will be the commencement of a system that must be adopted, if Congress consult the “general welfare” of the nation.

#### THE BALTIMORE SUN.

**AFRICAN CIVILIZATION.**—A vast continent has waited upon the agencies of civilization for a share in those blessings it confers; the season of waiting at length is passed, and the time for action has begun. And how very remarkable is the character of that action, and how noble the purpose it contemplates. Never in the history of the world has a similar event commanded the admiration of mankind. It is without precedent and can have no parallel.

Africa, which has supplied the civilized world with menial service, seems at length about to be honored as no country has ever

been before. The work of colonization, wherever it has been conducted heretofore, has always been commenced with a prospect of strife; it has almost invariably contemplated the subjugation of an aboriginal race by force of arms, their expulsion, or extinction. The exceptions have been partial and rare. Such a case for instance as that of Penn stands out in prominent relief upon the page of colonial history; but even the philanthropy of Penn was insufficient for its purpose—he could not prevent the expulsion of the Indians, and the Anglo-Saxon now occupies his place. Colonial history has ever involved an enormous expenditure of wealth, health, and human life, and, according to the best excuse of human judgment by the standard of the times, unavoidably so.

The great colonial project of our day is that which relates to the continent of Africa, and in its details it exhibits a most admirable and striking contrast with all that have preceded it. The colonists it is proposed to put upon its coasts are the civilized descendants of those who were snatched from their native soil, in a condition of barbarism, and carried into slavery. In restoring them to the land of their forefathers, it is not with arms in their hands to subdue or to expel the present occupants of the soil. There is no physical warfare to institute against an antagonism of blood. On the contrary, the only warfare to be anticipated is that of mind with mind; an encounter of civilization with barbarism, under the auspices of natural kindred. It is the reality of the fable of Valentine and Orson, in which the former has only to use the stratagem dictated by fraternal love, and his bloodless conquest is sure. The weapons are those of civilization and christianity; and never was there a time when those instrumentalities could be more effectually employed. The industrial arts enjoy the benefits of science in a wonderful degree; agriculture is learning thrift from enlarged liberality; and commerce possesses the means and appliances of steam, by which she measures the pathways of the great deep, and times her ocean trips by the hour.

It is at this era of the world's career, and under these auspices, that the American people have entered upon the great and glorious project of African redemption. A work, whose design sanctifies the expenditure of every dollar that can be judiciously applied for its promotion, and demands the genial sympathies of every true son of humanity. To what extent soever the growth and success of the enterprise may contribute to our commercial advantages, its claims upon our co-operation are incontes-



tibly genuine. The work is one of which the nature of the end can be understood from the beginning, although its grandeur can perhaps be only feebly conceived. It requires in its earliest stages the confidence, the cheerful aid, the generous support and the patient expectation of the civilized world. And we should be niggards, indeed, if in view of the object to be attained, we would withhold these; while history would throw up, from the vain records of the past, her reproaches against us. Let us but glance at the story of the crusades, and think upon the vast expenditure of wealth and life freely lavished in such superstitious services for the attainment of a visionary purpose. For three centuries has that stupendous power, incorporated under the name of the East India Company, struggled with varying success, and at the most inordinate sacrifice of human life, for the advancement of exclusively selfish and sordid schemes. And shall we hesitate to accept an opportunity, which Providence has opened before us, to rescue a continent from the degradation of heathenism, and provide an attractive and perpetual asylum for that race, helplessly depressed in the social economy of our vexed and troubled land?

The project, it will be observed, embraces two results, both of which are alike benevolent in their design. One is to effect the redemption of the present tribes of Africa from barbarism, and to introduce them to the enjoyment of civilization. The other is to induce such a flow of emigration on the part of the free colored people of America into Africa as will relieve this country from the inconvenience and demoralization consequent upon the social disesteem they everywhere experience here, and at the same time place them in a position where neither natural nor conventional distinctions exist to curb the spirit of ambition, or to obstruct the labors of the boldest enterprise. The latter, it will be observed, in the order of events, must take precedence of the former; for while both are contemplated by the advocates of colonization, one is looked for as the result of the other. Under the present instrumentalities and inducements, the work of African colonization has been slow and costly; but the season for past effort has been the first stage of a grand design, which will gradually develop means and energies adequate to its fulfilment. To what extent the proposed system of steam communication before Congress may tend to the removal of the colored race from this continent, is variously conjectured by different individuals who have the same data

upon which to rest their opinions. Upon this point we shall take a future opportunity to advance some views of our own, though it is not to be denied that the absence of all precedent leaves opinion with no higher character than that of conjecture in any case.

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#### THE FRANKFORT (Ky.) COMMONWEALTH.

AN APPROPRIATION IN AID OF COLONIZATION.—We published, several days ago, the memorial which the Kentucky Colonization Society recently presented to the General Assembly, but have not heretofore had room to make any editorial comments upon it. The memorial asks for an appropriation of five thousand dollars per year, for five years, to aid in transporting from Kentucky to Liberia free negroes of such ages and under such conditions, as the Legislature may prescribe.

What shall be done with the free negro population, is a question which has recently attracted the earnest attention of several of our sister States, both South and North, and which must inevitably be soon recognized as a very important question by all the States in which any considerable portion of that population exists. As a body they add no strength, and afford no advantage to any community; and in the slaveholding States their pernicious influence upon the slaves makes them a positive and great evil. \* \* \* \* \*

Virginia appropriates \$30,000 per year to aid in sending her free negroes to Africa. Maryland gives \$10,000 per year for the same object. Even some of the non-slaveholding States, who have no slaves to be injured by association with free negroes, seem about to pursue the same plan. Indiana is, we believe, about to provide, in the constitution which she is now framing, that no negroes shall be permitted hereafter to immigrate into her territory, and that \$10,000 shall be yearly appropriated towards removing to Africa those who are already within her borders. Has Kentucky not as much need, at least, as Indiana, to get rid of her free negro population?

The sum asked for, if laid as an additional tax upon the people of the State, would not require the assessment of one-fifth of a cent upon every hundred dollars' worth of taxable property.

This is merely the pecuniary, or, so to speak, the selfish view of the subject. Its benevolent aspect has often been presented. It seems to us that, even if there were no

present advantage in it, it would still be worthy of a great State to contribute something to aid a scheme which we believe is destined ultimately to civilize and christianize one-fourth of the world, and elevate a whole race.

#### THE LOUISVILLE (Ky.) JOURNAL.

**MAIL STEAM SHIPS TO THE WESTERN COAST OF AFRICA.**—We have received the Report of the Committee on Naval Affairs of the House of Representatives, to whom was referred the memorial of Joseph Bryan of Alabama, for himself and his associates, Nicholas Sanders and others, praying the establishment of a line of steamers from the United States to the coast of Africa, designed to promote the colonization of free persons of color, to suppress the African slave trade, to carry the mails, and to extend the commerce of the United States.

In this subject every citizen of the United States ought to feel a deep interest. Every one whose mind is not blinded by passion, must see that with the white man is no abode for the black man. We refer now only to the welfare of the free black man himself. Whatever he may be capable of becoming in favorable circumstances, while he remains among the whites, he must ever be a degraded being. Even if the laws should invest him with the full rights of citizenship, they could not raise him to an equality with those around him. They could not give him the strength and independence necessary for the full exercise of his rights. He would always be "a hewer of wood and a drawer of water." The full dress of a citizen would set upon him like the clothes of a giant upon a dwarf. Philanthropy as well as policy points to a separation of the races. There is no hope for the African race but in its separation from the Caucasian. If we wish the free man of color to attain to the dignity of a man—if we wish him to be elevated above the condition of a serf—we must provide the means for his removal from among us.

It is from the colonization movement that Africa must expect civilization and the knowledge of true religion. Providence, bringing good out of evil, seems about to make the crimes of slave traders the means of regenerating Africa. The few colonists that we have sent, have already exerted great influence. If Africa is to be redeemed from her savage state, it must be done by means of colonies. The natives readily see

the advantages which civilization gives, and they are led by degrees to adopt the customs of civilized life. The change must be very gradual, it is true, as all great changes in character must be gradual.

The destruction of that disgrace of our times, the African slave trade, will be another result of the colonization of Africa. Immense sums of money have been expended in the attempt to put an end to this horrible traffic by blockading the coast of Africa, and all the efforts to suppress the trade have only added to its horrors. In 1847, no less than 84,356 slaves were exported from Africa to Cuba and Brazil. The attempt to suppress the trade in this way has proved a complete failure, and will probably be soon abandoned. But the influence of the Republic of Liberia has been shown in the complete suppression of the trade along a coast of several hundred miles in extent. The committee say: "The people of the United States have shown their strong aversion to the slave trade by the provision in their Constitution against it, and by their unrelenting and vigorous efforts to suppress it. The success which has already crowned the infancy of Liberia, indicates the true mode of making these exertions effectual, while it opens up the way for restoring the free blacks to the 'native land of their fathers.'"

#### THE KNOXVILLE REGISTER, TENNESSEE.

After all, however, that may be said of the benefits to flow from such an enlarged and liberal plan of operation, it is, we confess, as a scheme of philanthropy, of humanity, of good will towards men, that we look upon it with most favor. The suppression of the damning traffic in slaves, carried on, as it is, with circumstances of cruelty from which the mind revolts with horror—and the amelioration and removal from among us of a degraded class—which hangs like an incubus upon our exertions—the class of free blacks—are points upon which all men, slaveholders, and non-slaveholders, [all except the abolitionists,] can with cordial sympathy unite, even in the present excited state of public affairs. It will be a sublime moral spectacle to see such a united effort. It will raise us in the estimation of the world. It will afford the future historian a theme on which he may love to dwell. Indeed, it seems to us, that the opportunity held out to us to accomplish such glorious results, is but a wise ordination of Providence by which we shall

have enslaved a portion of our fellow beings only to restore them, after a long period of servitude, to the land of their fathers, enlightened with the divine knowledge, informed with the spirit of social and political progress, and ennobled with a sense of their capacity to work out the great problem of conservative liberty, in a land of intellectual gloom and moral debasement.

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## EXTRACTS FROM THE LOUISIANA, GEORGIA AND SOUTH CAROLINA PRESS.

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### THE NEW ORLEANS DELTA.

THE AFRICAN STEAM PROJECT.—We must confess, that whilst we are opposed to all extravagant and expensive outlays on the part of the Federal Government, we are rather disposed to view favorably the principle and design of the project reported in Congress by Mr. Stanton, of establishing a line of steamers between this country and Africa. We know nothing of the details of the plan. There may be, and no doubt are, many objectionable features in the proposed contract; but the general purpose of augmenting the steam marine of this country, is one which engages our warmest support; whilst the secondary—perhaps it ought to be viewed as the primary, object of securing an easy and cheap return of the emancipated Africans to the land from whence they sprung, is one which rises in importance above all the enterprises of the day.

In some Southern States it has been proposed to eject the whole free colored population from the country. A recommendation of that character was made a few years ago by Governor Smith, of Virginia. But that is a proposition from which humanity revolts. Besides, there is no part of the country into which they could be driven. The great question—one of the greatest which could engage the consideration of the philanthropist—is, how the South may be rid of this great evil, so as not to outrage the moral sense and feelings. We answer: send all the free blacks to Africa, the home of their fathers. Let them establish a republic there. Whilst our youth are leaving their homes and families, to people the far-off shores of the Pacific, let the sons of Africa employ the skill and intelligence they have

acquired in this land, in establishing a great republic on the opposite side of the Atlantic.

Here is a plain, simple, practical proposition. If the United States Government can, in the exercise of its powers promote such a plan, we do not think it should hesitate much as to the price of so great a blessing as the removal, or even the reduction, of the free negro population of the country. We are not familiar with the details of the plan proposed, but we think that the Government could hardly apply its money to a better purpose, than in establishing a line of steamers to Africa, with stipulations to remove, at a certain moderate price, such free negroes as may be designated, or such as may desire to emigrate to the land of their fathers. The Legislatures of the several Southern States might then pass the laws prohibiting the emancipation of negroes, unless on the condition that they should be removed to Africa.

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### THE NEW ORLEANS PICAYUNE.

The suppression of the slave trade is yet the great problem of humanity. All schemes of force yet devised, however extensive and powerful in extent and combinations, have failed, not only from their inherent insufficiency to master the evil, but from the bad management and sordid intents with which they are, by a destiny apparently inevitable, beset and foiled. To some power which has its seat in Africa—which, operated by the perpetual presence and growing interests of a seated civilization and an expanding humanity—we must finally look for the extirpation of this horrid traffic. The American colonies planted along the coast have done more within a few years, by the silent spread of moral power, than all the navies of Europe could accomplish in a quarter of a century; and it is not, therefore, to be wondered at that so many hearts in this country are warmed towards the the colonization schemes, and towards all available and lawful enterprises for extending commercial connections with the African coast and the interesting settlements planted there. That feeling gives a great deal of interest to the projected line of commercial steamers to Liberia, which a committee of the House of Representatives has recommended. We have seen many objections strongly urged to the plans proposed, and the projected manager and



management, as though the whole were a mere job of speculators. So far as this may be shown, or reasonably suspected to be true, every opposition is not only proper but laudable; but nothing we have seen contains any solid argument against the enterprise, or goes so far as to alter our conclusions that it is—supposing the details arranged in a just and satisfactory manner—extremely advisable, and entitled to the encouragement of the Government and the people, as far as the powers of the constitution will permit them to give aid. It is of sufficient importance to merit a full investigation of its claims to public favor; and we have no doubt that on full inquiry it will be sustained by the public as a scheme of great national import as well as enlarged beneficence.

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#### THE SAVANNAH (GEORGIA) REPUBLICAN.

TRADE WITH AFRICA.—Our readers have already been informed that a bill, accompanied by a report, has been introduced into the House of Representatives, for the establishment of a line of mail steamers to the coast of Africa. The commercial advantages which would be likely to result from such an enterprise are sufficiently important to engage the attention both of our merchants and Congressmen. It is stated that Great Britain conducts a traffic with Africa valued at \$23,000,000, per annum, while we, with a commerce amounting in exports and imports to only about one million and a quarter, are compelled to keep up a naval force on the western coast, partly to protect this British commerce, and at the same time to suppress, as far as may be, the slave trade. The question arises why should we not, with the facilities we enjoy, enter into competition for this traffic of \$30,000,000? Colonies and Republics are annually springing up in that region, whose commerce must ultimately prove of immense value in exchange for our manufactures of cotton and other fabrics. It becomes important therefore to attach these colonies to our trade. Egypt, prior to the downfall of that empire, concentrated within the valleys of the Nile the most, if not the only, commerce of that vast continent; but modern research has satisfied us that westward—pursuing the undeviating law of political destiny—the star of African glory wends its way. Liberia may yet become the Thebes of modern times, and number, not her hundred brazen gates for

the egress of armies, but navies for the supply of the world, and America her treasure-house.

The principal exports of the African coast are ivory, palm oil, gold, coffee, cotton, and various kinds of valuable wood. Of ivory, it is estimated that Great Britain imports annually 5,000 cwt.—a tusk weighing about 60 pounds—to obtain which it is necessary to destroy about 7,000 elephants every year. Her imports of palm oil, during last year, are set down at 400,000 cwt., which yielded a duty of \$280,000. We obtain our surplus of this article through foreign custom houses, and not direct, by which the committee of the House thinks it costs our importers a thousand per cent. more than it would if we were able, by a line of steamers, to import from the natives, in exchange for American commodities. Great Britain has also managed to monopolize, since the establishment of the colonies, the immense amount of gold which they produce. The researches of geographers have shown that the sands of upper and lower Guinea, not to say Liberia and Senegambia, contain great quantities of this rich treasure; but of their monopoly in this respect we will not complain. Possessing such a country as California, with her gold mountains and gold lakes, it would not become in us to begrudge to England whatever of the precious dust she can glean from the sands of Africa. But this is only one item in the thrifty trade she is driving with that country. The aggregate value of the exports of the African colonies is reckoned at over two and a half millions, while their imports, principally from Great Britain, amount to thirty millions. Our share of this trade, if we except Liberia, does not exceed \$10,000. And yet the population of Liberia is estimated at 87,000, that of Sierra Leone at 40,000, and that of all other settlements at 500,000, making a total of 627,000.

It may be said that this trade is small, but then it should be remembered that the colonies are yet in their infancy—that they are constantly extending and increasing in population, and promise to become of much importance politically and commercially. The committee's report explains all the moral and political advantages of the plan; and when the whole are considered together, it strikes us that the subject deserves the most earnest and deliberate attention of Congress. It is also to be borne in mind, that the steamers would touch at all the important islands of

Africa—and some of these, we well know, occupy a conspicuous rank, in a commercial sense.

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#### DE BOW'S (NEW-ORLEANS) REVIEW.

The value of the commerce of Africa to the United States is steadily and rapidly advancing, and needs but encouragement from our Government to make it, in a few years, as valuable to our country as that of Great Britain was twenty years ago.

During the last ten or fifteen years great discoveries have been made in and about Africa, and many new and important facts brought to light. In addition to the numerous eligible points on the coast, occupied by slave traders, the French have had for some time a settlement on the Senegal, and have recently taken possession of the Gaboon region; the Danes are on the Rio Volta; the Dutch on the gold coast; the Portuguese at Loango; the Americans at Liberia—now formed into an independent Republic, with laws modelled after our own—and the English at Sierra Leone, in the Gambia, and on the gold coast.

From the results of these colonies, and the testimony of travellers, such as Park, Lander, Laird, Clapperton, Burckhart, McQueen, Duncan, and others, we are afforded evidence that nature has scattered her bounties with the most lavish hand, and that what is required to make them available to the noblest purposes is a legitimate commerce, sustained by our rulers, and directed by honorable men.

Among the productions of the soil may be named:

*Grain.*—Rice, Indian corn, Guinea corn, millet, wheat, domah, &c.

*Fruits.*—Oranges, lemons, limes, guavas, pines, citrons, papaws, plantains, bananas, dates, tamarinds, and mango plum, &c.

*Roots.*—Manioc, igname, batalee, yams, cassada, arrow-root, ginger, sweet potato, beans, peas, &c.

*Timber.*—Teak, ebony, lignumvita, rosewood, oak, mahogany, and forty or fifty other species of wood, suitable for all purposes.

*Nuts.*—Palm nut, shea or butter nut, cocoa nut, cola nut, croton nut, castor oil nut, netta nut, peanut, &c.

*Dyes.*—Carmine, yellow various shades, blue, orange various shades, red, crimson, brown, &c.

*Dyewoods.*—Camwood barwood, &c.

*Gums.*—Copal, Senegal, mastic, sudan, &c.

*Drugs.*—Aloes, Cassia, senna, frankincense, copaiva, &c.

*Minerals.*—Gold, iron, copper, emery, sal amoniac, nitre, &c.

*Miscellaneous.*—Sugar cane, coffee, cocoa, cotton, indigo, tobacco, India rubber, beeswax, ostrich feathers, hides, skins, ivory, pepper of all varieties, spices, hemp, honey, &c.

In the animal kingdom I find that, in addition to the wild beasts which infest its forests and occupy its swamps, and whose skins, teeth, and horns are valuable as articles of commerce, immense herds of cattle, incalculable in number, range its plains. Hides, therefore, to almost any amount, may be obtained. Sheep and goat skins, of a very large kind, are equally numerous and very valuable. Fish of all kinds visit the shores and rivers in innumerable shoals, and are easily taken in large quantities during the proper season.

The mineral kingdom has not been explored, but enough is known to show that the precious metals abound, particularly gold. This is found throughout the known regions of Africa, in beds of rivers and in mines. Dupuis and Bowditch speak of the "solid lumps of rock gold" which ornament the persons of the attendants in the Court of the King of Ashantee, at Coomassie. Mrs. Bowditch says the great men will frequently, on state occasions, so load their wrists with these lumps that they are obliged to support them on the head of a boy.

The iron ore, found near Sierra Leone, is particularly rich, yielding seventy-nine per cent., and is said to be well adapted to making steel. Copper is so abundant in Mayomba that they gather from the surface of the ground enough for their purposes.

A few words on the productiveness of the soil. It has been proved that two crops of corn, sweet potatoes, and several other vegetables, can be, and are, raised in a year. They yield a larger crop than the best soils in America. One acre of rich land, well tilled, says Governor Ashmun, will produce three hundred dollars' worth of indigo. Half an acre may be made to grow half a ton of arrow-root. Four acres laid out in coffee plants will, after the third year, produce a clear income of two or three hundred dollars. Half an acre of cotton trees, yielding cotton of an equal, if not superior, length and strength of staple and fineness and color

than fair "Orleans," will clothe a whole family, and one acre of canes will make the same number independent of all the world for sugar. The dyes in particular are found to resist both acids and light, properties which no other dyes that we know of possess.

In the year 1840, thirty-nine British vessels arrived at Cape Coast. Since that time the trade has been gradually improving. The last year's report, which we have received, sets down the imports into Cape Coast as amounting to £243,173 sterling. The imports during the same period into Asia were £95,000, and the exports £115,000 sterling. The total export of British merchandise to Africa is at present estimated at £5,000,000 sterling per annum.

The average import of *palm oil alone into Liverpool*, for some years past, has been at least 15,000 tons a year, valued at about £400,000 sterling, and giving employment to 25,000 or 30,000 tons of shipping. The imports into the Republic of Liberia are estimated, by an American (white) physician, who has spent six years there, at \$120,000 per annum, and the exports as reaching very nearly the same amount. The commerce of our own country with Africa is daily becoming an important item. The principal seats of this trade are Salem, Massachusetts, and Providence, Rhode Island. New-York occasionally sends, while our city has at the present time five sail of brigs and barques actively and profitably employed. One of our merchants stated that he cleared \$12,000, in one year, on the single article of ground or peanuts. Strange as it may appear, nearly all these nuts are transhipped to France, where they command a ready sale, are there converted into, and thence find their way over the world, in the shape of *olive oil*—the skill of the French chemists enabling them to simulate the real Lucca and Florence oil so as to deceive the nicest judges. Indeed, the oil from peanuts possesses a sweetness and delicacy not to be surpassed.

While we greatly regret that there are no means of acquiring proper and correct information of the commerce of Africa, yet we presume, from the facts we have already given, that there are at least 100,000,000 of inhabitants in that continent, the whole of whom are not only willing, but anxious to exchange the various products of their prolific soil, for the dry goods, powder, rum, beads, pipes, tobacco, lead bars, iron bars, hardware, glassware,

earthenware, brassware, cowries, soap, flints, tallow and sperma candles, wines, beef, pork, lard, flour, meal, hams, tongues, biscuit, crackers, perfumery, and the thousand other articles produced by the skill and industry of our citizens.

So important and valuable has this rapidly increasing commerce become to Great Britain,\* that we cannot but notice the great efforts which have been made, and are making, by that power to secure *all* the trade of Africa to her merchants. In addition to the aid given to various enterprising travellers, and the enormous expense borne by her in keeping up a large and efficient squadron on the coast, and in sustaining her colonies there, we behold her pouring forth immense sums of money on the celebrated "Niger expedition"; in sending Mr. Duncan to negotiate a treaty with the powerful King of Dahomey; and in the ready acknowledgment of the independence of the Republic of Liberia—entering immediately into a treaty of commerce and amity—and the kind attention shown President Roberts during his brief stay in that country.

It therefore well becomes our Government to awaken themselves to the importance of the African trade. Ours are emphatically a commercial people, and, to enable them to enter into competitions with the English traders, demands the earliest and most serious attention.

\* Since writing the foregoing, information has been received by the steamer America, "that it is in contemplation by some Liverpool merchants—with every prospect of success—to form an African Company, with a capital of £100,000, in 2,000 shares of £50 each, for the purpose of trade with Africa."

#### THE SOUTH CAROLINA MISCELLANY.

The committee very properly says: "The question of slavery, now the cause of so deep an excitement, is not to any extent, either directly or indirectly, involved. The Government of the United States, it is admitted on all hands, has no power to interfere with that subject within the several States. Neither does the proposition at all interfere with the question of emancipation." This caution has been of little avail, a furious outcry has been made, by some Abolition prints, against the Report, which, at least, has the merit of consistency, for Abolitionists were never known to favor a project which tended the most remotely to benefit either the slave, or free negro.



The objects to be accomplished by the line of steamers, aside from carrying the mails and having steamships in readiness to be converted, when needed, to war purposes, are (1) commercial advantages: by this means England has gathered to her bosom the treasures of China and the East Indies: she has lines, either in operation or under contract, to all the commercial marts of the world, and unless our Government speedily secures the inexhaustible resources of Africa, they will soon be taken to enrich Great Britain. (2) The suppression of the Slave Trade: the inefficiency of the plan in operation—the joint squadron of the United States and Great Britain, has been completely demonstrated. (3) It will open an easy, commodious and speedy means of transportation, to Free Negroes. This is especially a matter of interest to the South.

#### THE CHARLESTON (S. C.) COURIER.

The Colonization scheme—the most beneficent ever devised for the benefit of the race—holds out some promises of success, and may yet be the means of redeeming it from bondage and ignorance, and rendering it worthy of participating in, and capable of enjoying the blessings of freedom and civilization. Who does not see, in the brightening prospects of the Monrovia and Liberian colonies, the hand of Providence, working indeed under a dark veil, but still bringing good out of apparent evil? For it was by their previous sojourn in the house of bondage, and by their contact with, and the improvement they derived from their intercourse with their white brethren, that the more enlightened portion of the race have been enabled to carry back the lights of civilization, religion and improvement to their native shores; whence it may be hoped that they will at last be diffused over those long benighted regions, and “the Nations sitting in Darkness.”

#### REMARKS OF HON. HENRY CLAY, IN THE SENATE, JAN. 15, 1851.

Mr. President, I have several petitions which I desire to present. Two of them are of the same tenor and effect, signed by a large number of the citizens of the State of Indiana. The petitioners say that, being anxious to remove from our land the greatest

cause of discord, and to secure the future welfare, harmony, and permanency of the Union—having in view an object upon which they believe the great body of all parties and of every section of the country can unite—they respectfully pray that Congress will pass a bill providing means to remove from our country all that portion of the African race who are both willing and ready to emigrate to Africa; that suitable provision be made for their real wants for one year after their arrival in Africa; and, as a greater inducement for them to emigrate, that a bounty of land be given them on their arrival, upon which they may, with industry and economy, support themselves; and make such other provision as may be most desirable.

I have another petition which has some analogy to that, and which I take particular pleasure in presenting, both on account of the distinguished and respectable source whence it emanates, and on account of the prayer of the petition. It is a petition from Rhode Island, and is signed by a large portion of the *elite* of that State; by the Governor and Lieutenant Governor, by every member of its Senate, by most of the members of the House, by a great number of ex-governors, ex-senators, ex-members of the House of Representatives, and by many of the *literati* of that State, heads of colleges, and by a vast number of citizens in private life.

This petition earnestly invites the attention of Congress to measures for the more effectual suppression of the African slave trade. In their petition, in vivid and frightful colors, but I think not exaggerated colors, they depict the horrors of that trade. They state that the measures which have been adopted by the three great Powers, the United States, Great Britain, and France, to suppress that trade by means of keeping stationary squadrons upon the coast of Africa, have totally failed. They say, and I am happy to be able to confirm that statement from the records of the American Colonization Society, that the only effectual remedy for the suppression of the slave trade has been found to be the establishment of colonies upon the western coast of Africa; that there are colonies now occupying about one-third of the western coast of Africa; and that wherever they have been planted there is an entire and absolute suppression of the African slave trade, so far as that coast is concerned. They therefore pray that a line of steamers may be established, or a line of sailing packets, for the purpose of augmenting the inhabitants of the colonies, in view of the

object which they desire to see accomplished, the successful suppression of the African slave trade.

Mr. President, will the Senate pardon me if I add a few observations on the general subject? A document was laid before the Senate a few days ago, containing correspondence between our public functionaries at Rio Janeiro and the Department of State. It well deserves the careful perusal of every member of this body. I have given it such perusal. It appears from that document that, notwithstanding all that has been done by the three great Powers to which I have before referred, the slave trade is perhaps carried on to as great extent in the empire of Brazil as it ever has been; that during the years 1846-'47-'48 and '49, within the single province of Rio Janeiro, 173,000 slaves were imported. I have no data before me from which to state the number imported into the other provinces of the Brazilian Empire, or into the island of Cuba, but I believe the number will be as extensive as those imported into the province of Rio Janeiro.

But these petitioners disclose other facts, which no American can read without profound regret. They say that this trade in slaves which is carried on from ports of Brazil to the coast of Africa, is chiefly carried on by American vessels, and that in the course of four or five years past ninety-three American vessels have cleared from the ports of Brazil to the coast of Africa; and that most of them returned (although some were captured) laden with cargoes of slaves. The mode in which they accomplish the object is worthy of some notice. The American vessel is bought in some of the Brazilian ports, but she is to be delivered in an African port. She sails under American colors, and is laden with provisions and other appliances adapted to the prosecution of the African trade, and passes over the ocean without molestation, because we have, very properly, perhaps, refused to the British the right of search, and have not allowed it to be exercised by any foreign Power whatever. The vessel sails under the American flag, though it is laden with articles beyond all question adapted, and only adapted, to the slave trade. She arrives safely in one of the African ports. In a few days after her arrival, the captain goes on shore, meets with the agent who is to receive the vessel, and returns and proclaims to the crew that the vessel has been sold—that her crew is to be changed—that her American flag is to be pulled down and another one hoisted, in order to carry a cargo of slaves back to

Brazil; and these poor American seamen are often left to perish on the inhospitable coast of Africa, for want of the means to return to their own country, and are often compelled to engage in the navigation of the slave vessel, as being the only means by which they can get back to their own country.

Sir, it has been suggested that certain regulations of commerce should be made, which, with other reasons, will induce me, before I take my seat, to move the reference of this petition to the Committee on Commerce. The petitioners propose that the grant of sea letters be withheld from vessels clearing from Brazil to the African coast. They declare that there is no trade whatever other than that connected with the slave trade, and that there is therefore no other motive for an American vessel clearing out of a Brazilian port for the coast of Africa. They consequently recommend that there should be a refusal henceforward to grant any sea letter or other document enabling the ship to sail under the American flag from these ports to the coast of Africa. They also recommend other regulations, which I will not detain the Senate by stating, for the purpose of exempting our navigation from any participation in that odious traffic.

Mr. President, I believe it is the judgment of the British public, as I think it is of the American public, that the keeping of squadrons upon the coast of Africa with a view to the suppression of the slave trade is a failure, or, at all events, that it is attended with an enormous amount of expense, and with a vast and inhuman sacrifice of health and life, which is not justified, not compensated by any value which these squadrons render for the object in view—the suppression of the African slave trade. So strong was the conviction of the British mind in relation to this subject, that I understand it was with the utmost difficulty that Lord Palmerston prevailed on Parliament to continue the keeping up of these squadrons a year or two longer.

We not only keep up, by the eighth article of the treaty of Washington, a squadron amounting to at least eighty guns on the coast of Africa, but we also keep up in reference to the same object, a large and extensive squadron upon the coast of Brazil. I have not resorted to the proper sources of information, but I am sure that I am safe in saying that we expend upon the two coasts of Brazil and Africa not less than, perhaps, half a million of dollars, independent of that sacrifice of human life which has taken place in consequence of the em-

ployment of our forces there. I will not say, as is said in this petition, that it has been a total failure, for I believe there have been occasional captures; but then there has been a greater degree of stimulus given to the trade. I doubt very much whether there would not be less loss of African life, if there were no attempt whatever to suppress the slave trade by means of these squadrons than there is in consequence of keeping them; the result of which is merely to multiply adventurers to send out more ships, to run more chances, to take more risks, in order to secure the object of transporting the slaves to the Brazils or to Cuba from the coast of Africa. Sir, I believe there is no effectual remedy for the suppression of the slave trade but the occupation in Africa of the coast itself, and stopping it at the threshold where it begins. By the eighth article of the treaty of Washington, to which I have referred, we were only bound to continue that squadron for a period of five years. The five years have long since expired—in 1847; and yet we continue this squadron down to this time. Now, without reference to any of the subjects which I have thought proper to present to the Senate, without regard to the suppression of the slave trade, without reference to the great interest of colonization, I think, as a mere measure of financial economy, it is worth considering whether we shall expose the lives of our gallant seamen in such an inhospitable clime, at such a vast expense, and reaping so little benefit from the operation.

Mr. President, I own that the subject of colonization, important as I think it is for the suppression of the African slave trade, commends itself to my mind by some additional considerations. Although I may be thought extravagant in my view, I declare *that of all the projects of the age, there is none to compare with that great project of transporting the free people of color in the United States with their own consent to the coast of Africa.* What is to be done with them? What has been done with them, I ask again? Even here, under our noses within this District, in the course of the last ten years they have doubled in number. States are passing the most rigorous laws to exclude them from their territory. Some States, indeed, are introducing into the fundamental law, the constitution, a provision against the reception of any free people of color within their borders. What is to become of them, I ask again, in the name of humanity and of justice? I see no other remedy than that of sending them

back to the land whence their ancestors were taken, and I can conceive of no portion of the population of the United States which will not be benefited by such transfer of the free people of color from the United States to Africa. The whites at the North would be benefited, the whites at the South would be benefited, the slaves would be benefited—the poor creatures themselves would be benefited; for, instead of remaining in a country where they never can be elevated to high social and political condition with the whites, where they must forever remain a degraded, corrupt and dissolute class, if carried to the country of their ancestors they may rise into an importance which they never can attain here. Every conceivable interest will be promoted; commerce will be promoted; civilization will be promoted; religion will be promoted, by the transfer of the free people of color with their own consent from the United States to Africa. And what interest, what portion of the population of this country will be injured by such a transportation of these persons? None, none whatever.

I will not detain the Senate longer upon this subject. I should be extremely glad if Senators would turn their attention to the Executive document to which I have referred, and would give some consideration to the suggestions which I have made.

Ah! Mr. President, if we would only renounce those unhappy subjects of agitation which have distracted our country too long, and so greatly—if the people of the North would only allow the people of the South to manage their own domestic affairs in their own way—if they would only reflect that if slavery is fraught with evils, the evils are not felt by those at the North, but are confined to where the slaves are—if we would only cease to agitate each other, and agitate our country, and endanger our Union itself, by continuing these unhappy subjects of controversy and strife, and all come together upon this great common object, in which the free States are as much interested as the slave States—and unite all our energies in directing the free people of color from the shores of America to that place where they can enjoy real freedom, and pursue their own happiness, what a glorious result would it be for our country!

Sir, I beg pardon for having kept the attention of the Senate so long. I move that the petitions, without reading, be referred to the Committee on Commerce.

They were referred.

The petition was signed by the Governor, Lieutenant Governor, members of the State



Senate, fifty-four of sixty-eight that constitute the State Legislature, the Chief Justice and three Associate Judges of the Supreme Court of Rhode Island; F. Wayland, President of Brown University; the United States District Judge, ex-District Judges, ex-Members of Congress, ex-United States Senators, ex-Governors, &c.

EXTRACTS OF A LETTER FROM PRESIDENT ROBERTS, OF LIBERIA, IN REGARD TO THE PROPOSED LINE OF STEAMERS TO AFRICA.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, MONROVIA,  
September 30th, 1850.

*M. St. Clair Clark, Esq.*

Sir:—I have the honor of your esteemed favor of June 25th, which I have read with attention and much satisfaction. I have received by the Liberia packet, as you intimated I would, Judge Bryan's memorial, and circular accompanying it, to Congress, asking the co-operation of the United States Government in what I consider a grand and important scheme. There is no question in my mind but that a line of steamships between the United States and this country would produce important results in favor of colonization, as well as the commercial interests both of the United States and Liberia.

With such facilities as this scheme would afford colonization, emigration would be greatly augmented. There are unquestionably hundreds, perhaps thousands, in the United States, who, for many years, have been violently opposed to the Colonization Society, and will not now, they say, have any thing to do with it, though their prejudices against Liberia have ceased, that would avail themselves of such a conveyance—cheap and quick—to emigrate to Liberia. The society, also, would be able to increase the number of emigrants coming out under its auspices, at the moderate rate of passage proposed, two hundred per cent.

The commercial advantages which will accrue to both countries, especially the United States, are important considerations. But I am needlessly taking up your time. You have maturely considered all these things, and have arrived at just conclusions with respect to the future result. I sincerely pray that God may spare both your life and mine to see the consummation of this great work. I am exceedingly gratified at the favor the proposition has met with at Washington. I hope, ere this, a bill favoring the views of Judge Bryan and his

associates has been presented to Congress, and has obtained the concurrence of that body.

\* \* \* \* \*  
With high regard, I remain, Sir, your  
humble and obedient servant,

J. J. ROBERTS.

THE PROPOSAL OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT TO INVITE EMIGRATION OF FREE BLACKS FROM THE UNITED STATES TO THE BRITISH WEST INDIES.

From the New-York Colonization Journal, January, 1851.

"THE Trinidad papers contain a communication from Mr. Hawes, the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, to David Turnbull, Esq., upon the subject of Colored Immigration from the United States of America. The Secretary transmits with this communication a memorandum explanatory of Lord Grey's views upon the subject, and mentions that should Mr. Turnbull concur in those views, his Lordship would propose forwarding copies of the memorandum to the Governors of the West India Colonies, and would also request Viscount Palmerston to send some of them to the British Consuls for circulation at those places in the United States from which emigrants would be likely to go; and he adds that, 'before taking these steps, it would be necessary to ascertain officially that there would be no objection to this on the part of the United States Government; as it must of course be distinctly understood that otherwise her Majesty's Government could not countenance any attempt of the kind proposed.'" Mr. Hawes's letter is dated the 14th of August last.

"The Kingston (Jamaica) Journal, in the course of some remarks on the subject, says, 'Government interference is not necessary to promote this migration, and steps cannot be too soon taken to advertise the free colored Americans of the Southern States that they may enjoy in Jamaica what they have heard of in their native land—liberty and equality; liberty to do all that an honest, industrious, and virtuous citizen could desire to do; and equality of civil and political rights. Should the Home Government, however, ascertain, as we have no doubt that it will seek to do, that the United States Government has no objection to the emigration of its colored subjects to the British West

Indies, it will then be advisable to consider the measures which Earl Grey conceives to be necessary in promoting such emigration, and for settling the parties in townships when they arrive here.”

It is the true policy of the United States to encourage the emigration of free negroes to Western Africa, instead of the British West Indies. By establishing a line of steamers to Liberia, as proposed by the Naval Committee of the House of Representatives, the voyage of the emigrants will be effected in a quick and pleasant manner, and the same steamers, running from Liberia to Gibraltar, Cadiz, Lisbon, Havre, and London, will open up a rich commerce between Liberia and those ports, by which the prosperity of the colonists will be secured. Sufficient inducements will thus be held out to the emigrants to prefer Liberia to the West Indies. In the former they will, moreover, enjoy political and social advantages not to be obtained in the latter. Leaving the coast and penetrating the hilly region lying behind Liberia, they will enjoy a healthy climate.

If the emigration of the free colored people of the United States be now diverted from the West Indies, and directed to Western Africa, *an asylum will be erected, capable of receiving any portion, however large, of the African race now amongst us which it may be found desirable to settle there.* On the other hand, unless suitable encouragement is afforded by Congress to the cause of African colonization, no such asylum will be brought into existence, but our free colored people will be induced by the British Government to assist in building up a powerful confederacy in the West Indies, full of hostility to our Government.

## EXTRACTS FROM THE REPORT OF THE REV. R. R. GURLEY

TO THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES, ON THE CONDITION, RESOURCES, AND PROSPECTS OF LIBERIA.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 15, 1850.

Sir,—The results of my observations and inquiries, during a recent visit to the republic of Liberia, and also to the colony founded by the Colonization Society and State of Maryland at Cape Palmas, under your instructions, I have now the honor to submit to the consideration of your department, and to the President of the United States.

On the 1st of August, I took passage at Baltimore in the Liberia Packet, which made Cape Mount, on the African coast, on the morning of the 18th of September.

### CLIMATE.

From my experience of two months on the coast of Liberia, I may be allowed to say, that my impressions of the African climate are more favorable than those I had derived from books; for, though our arrival occurred during the latter portion of what is called the rainy season, and we continued on the coast during most of the transition period from that to the dry season, the weather was generally clear and pleasant, and we were seldom deterred for an entire day from visiting the shore, or from moderate physical exertion.

During the African rains, strangers notice not only an extraordinary moisture in the atmosphere, but a peculiar power in the sun's rays, though the heat at all seasons is less, as indicated by the thermometer, than that occasionally known in the United States. We passed through what is called the tornado season without experiencing any storm which could with propriety be termed a tornado; and the weather during the whole time we were on the coast was not greatly different from the ordinary summer weather of our own Southern States.

No one can look upon the athletic, finely proportioned and developed forms of the native Africans, or upon a congregation of the inhabitants of Monrovia, or of the other towns and villages of the Liberian republic, and retain the idea that health cannot be enjoyed on the African coast. The general aspect of the people of Liberia is healthy; and I am convinced, from much observation and many inquiries, that the dangers of the climate to colored immigrants are becoming less and less formidable, and that soon they will, to a good degree, be averted, by the cultivation of the soil, an appropriate regimen, and increased medical experience and skill.

Having visited Africa in my youth, and witnessed, in company with the distinguished and lamented Ashmun, the first buddings of civilized and Christian life on Cape Montserado, it may be readily imagined that I could not, after a quarter of a century, look again upon that verdant promontory—that I could not again tread the streets of Monrovia—that I could not meet those who, so many years ago, extended to me their hospitalities—could not

behold that humble community, who, when I first stood there, were making some narrow openings in the dense forest, and sheltering themselves beneath some thirty or forty thatched roofs, few, feeble, and exposed to barbarous foes, now risen, through the favoring hand of the Almighty, by their fortitude and energy, to the elevation of an independent republic, acknowledged as such by two of the most powerful nations—without a deep sense of the divine goodness to the people of Liberia, and to the writer, in that he was permitted to see on that shore the renovating power of a government of constituted liberty, pervaded by the Christian spirit, and encompassed by the highest motives to beneficence.

On our arrival, several vessels were moored in the harbor of Monrovia (among them the American man-of-war schooner Decatur, Captain Byrne, and the Lark, a small, beautiful armed vessel, presented to the authorities of Liberia by the English government;) and, as we dropped anchor, the steamer of her Britannic Majesty which had brought out the commercial treaty ratified between Great Britain and the republic was taking her departure. The reception of this treaty was announced by the thunder of cannon from the heights of Monrovia, and the summit of the Cape, and signalized by mutual congratulations among the citizens, and by signs and expressions of universal joy.

To President Roberts and the members of his cabinet I am indebted for information on a great variety of topics, cheerfully communicated in every instance; and to the courtesy of these gentlemen, and to that of the officers and citizens of the republic generally, for united and zealous endeavors to open to me all avenues for a personal examination of the condition, relations, and prospects of their commonwealth. The people of Monrovia, and of the neighboring settlements, after due notice, assembled in public meeting, and appointed a committee of five of their number to report on the state and prospects of the republic; and their example was imitated by the citizens of the two counties of Grand Bassa and Sinou.

The facts and sentiments I have the honor to submit, in reply to the questions specified in my instructions, were derived from the best testimony and sources of information to which I could find access; and though I have not the vanity to imagine that they are tinged by no error, I

have confidence that in the main, and in all essential particulars, they are correct.

#### TOPOGRAPHICAL LIMITS.

In regard to the "limits within which the republic claims and exercises jurisdiction," it should be stated, that the territories both of the republic and of the Maryland Colony founded at Cape Palmas are included under the general name of Liberia. As the result of actual purchase from the native proprietors, the republic holds political jurisdiction over the country from Mamma, a point bordering on the notorious Gallinas, on the northwest, to Grand Sesters on the east, a distance, on the coast, of three hundred and fifty miles, with an average extent interior of forty miles—the boundary line enclosing a space of about fourteen thousand square miles. The authority of the Maryland Colony extends from Grand Sesters to the river Pedro, a distance by water of one hundred and twenty miles, and by land of one hundred and forty or fifty miles. Important acquisitions of territory have been made within the last few months by the republic, and also by the Maryland Colony.

The Rev. John Day, the intelligent superintendent of the Southern Baptist Mission, who resides at Bexley, on the St. Johns, and who has travelled into the interior to the distance of seventy or seventy-five miles, thus describes the country:—

"From seven to twenty miles the country is beautifully undulating, and interspersed with the most lovely hills of excellent water, clear as crystal, foaming and scolding among the rocks, presenting a thousand mill seats. The air in that region is salubrious and bracing, the soil deep and rich, covered with a forest which, for the height and size of the trees, I have never seen equalled. From twenty to thirty miles is a region of small mountains, of from three to five hundred feet in elevation. These mountains are covered with a rich forest, and may be cultivated. I have stood on the summit of one of them, calivated to the top, and thence beheld a delightful prospect. Beyond these hills, or mountains, as we call them, the land becomes generally more level to the distance of seventy miles, the extent of my interior travels. I am told by the natives that a day's walk beyond are loftier mountains, (which it will require a whole day to ascend,) and very steep; if so, the country I speak of is a valley. The soil for the



whole distance is rich, water abundant and good, and the cause of disease is no more apparent than in level regions in America. If our people want health, they may as surely obtain it in the mountainous region as by transatlantic trips. I have left home in bad health, on preaching tours of two or three weeks, and returned vigorous and strong. The birds sing more sweetly there, and the flowers are more beautiful and fragrant, than in the marshy region bordering on the sea. The natives are more cheerful, stout, industrious, honest, happy, and hopeful, every way, in that region. To thousands in that forest-clad region have I preached, while they were as attentive even as congregations in America."

#### POPULATION.

In regard to the population comprised in the republic, and the comparative number of the castes composing it, and their feelings towards one another, I may observe that the emigrant population in the republic is estimated at six thousand, and the native population at one hundred and forty or two hundred thousand. Of the Maryland colony, the emigrant inhabitants are about nine hundred, and the natives estimated at one hundred thousand, separated into numerous small tribes, varying in language, independent of each other in matters of domestic concern, yet slightly united, within certain limits, on questions of general and common interest. The native people of this region of Africa bear a striking similarity in manners, character, and superstitions.

The Bassas are south of Cape Montserado, are more numerous than both of the preceding tribes, and, with their allies in the county of Grand Bassa, are estimated at fifty thousand. They are described as mild, peaceful, and, in certain respects, industrious, occupying a country of great fertility, and which, even under their exceedingly imperfect cultivation, yields a large surplus of rice, palm oil, poultry, cattle, and the various vegetables and fruits of tropical Africa—as friendly to the American emigrants, eager for trade, disposed to labor for a moderate compensation, and as much inclined as any of the native people of that country to acquire the manners, the arts and the habits of civilization.

These people dwell in small villages of from fifty to one and two thousand souls, scattered along the coast, and for some dis-

tance in the interior, each governed by a chief and several subordinate headmen, whose will, though regulated by custom and precedent, has the force of law, and is seldom resisted.

To those African tribes, the relations of the Liberian government are entirely peaceful and friendly, and its authority over them highly salutary and beneficent. It has banished the slave trade from all this district of Africa; adjusted the differences which separated, and suppressed the wars which have for centuries spread misery and devastation among these people; has interrupted, if not eradicated, some of their most barbarous superstitions, ministered new incentives to their industry, opened new channels and supplied new motives and rewards to trade, and invited them to listen to the teachings and become enriched with all the blessings of civilization and Christianity. In a recent trial for a capital offence in the County of Grand Bassa, three native Africans sat among the jury; nor is it unusual to meet with respectable individuals of this class holding commissions as public officers of justice or police, from the President of the republic.

The Maryland Colony, at Cape Palmas exerts, perhaps, a less positive and controlling authority over its large native population than is exerted by the government of the republic; yet the influence of its intelligent and respectable officers is highly beneficial, and must increase; while the missionary establishment within its limits excites our admiration, and deserves the most liberal support.

In regard to the third subject of inquiry specified in my instructions—"the form of the government, and the characters of the leading men in the executive, legislative and judicial departments"—allow me to point to the constitution of the republic of Liberia, fully pervaded by the spirit of liberty, and, in all vital particulars, conformed to the model of our own American free government. No provision is contained in this constitution for the existence of separate State governments, nor do its framers appear to have contemplated or desired their existence; but in the provision for the election of the President and representatives every two years; in the subordination of the military to the civil power; in the declarations of the right of trial by jury, of universal toleration in matters of religion, and of the freedom of the press; and in the prohibition of the slave trade and slavery,—have the people

shown the purpose and ability to rear, for the protection of their liberties, a wisely limited and justly constructed republican government.

#### PUBLIC REVENUE.

On the fourth topic of inquiry—"the public revenue and the means by which it is raised"—I observe that for the two years previous to the independence of the republic, the annual revenue of the government, derived mainly from a six per cent. ad valorem duty on imports, amounted to from eight to ten thousand dollars.

#### GOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS.

"The relations of Liberia to other governments, and to the contiguous African nations or tribes," are amicable, and becoming every year more advantageous.

The independence of the republic has been acknowledged by both England and France; and between the former and the republic a treaty of peace, friendship, and commerce, was ratified on the first of August last; and hardly a week passes during which armed ships from these or other civilized nations are not seen visiting the ports, and exchanging civilities with the hospitable inhabitants of Liberia. By treaties with many African tribes, the republic has not merely enlarged its territory, but secured their consent to the abolition of the slave trade, and to the exercise of its political and judicial authority over them; and to its wisdom and justice are these tribes accustomed to look for the adjustment of their differences, and the protection of their homes, liberty, property, and lives. In some instances, tribes from the interior have hastened for safety, before the fury of merciless foes, to the soil of the republic, and found peace and repose under the shadow of its wings.

#### AGRICULTURE, COMMERCE, AND MANUFACTURES.

"Of the agriculture, commerce, and manufactures of the republic, and in particular its trade with the United States, and the susceptibility of that trade to be beneficially increased," it may be confidently asserted that the soil of the republic is capable of yielding abundantly the most valuable productions of the tropics. In some preliminary observations to an agricultural manual, prepared in 1825, for the Liberian settlers, by Mr. Ashmun, that gentleman writes to them thus:—"Suffer me

to put down two or three remarks, of the truth and importance of which you cannot be too sensible. The first is, that the cultivation of your rich lands is the only way you will ever find to independence, comfort, and wealth. You may, if you please, if God gives you health, become as independent, comfortable, and happy as you ought to be in this world.

"The flat lands around you, and particularly your farms, have as good a soil as can be met with in any country. They will produce two crops of corn, sweet potatoes, and several other vegetables, in a year; they will yield a larger crop than the best soils in America; and they will produce a number of very valuable articles, for which, in the United States, millions of money are every year paid away to foreigners. One acre of rich land well tilled will produce you three hundred dollars' worth of indigo. Half an acre may be made to grow half a ton of arrow root. Four acres laid out in coffee plants will, after the third year, produce you a clear income of two or three hundred dollars. Half an acre of cotton trees will clothe your whole family; and, excepting a little hoeing, your wife and children can perform the whole labor of cropping and manufacturing it. One acre of canes will make you independent of all the world for the sugar you use in your family. One acre set with fruit trees will furnish you the year round with more plantains, bananas, oranges, limes, guavas, pawpaws, and pineapples, than you will ever gather. Nine months in the year you may grow fresh vegetables every month; and some of you, who have low-land plantations, may do so throughout the year."

My observations on the banks of the rivers of the republic, (especially the St. Paul's, the St. John's, and the Sinou,) along both sides of Stockton creek, and among the gardens of Monrovia and the plantations in its vicinity, confirmed my belief in the general correctness of this statement, though the agricultural improvements do not equal all expectations which it would naturally create. The committee of Montserado county fail, however, I think, to do full justice to themselves and their fellow-citizens when they say, "In agriculture, little more is done than to supply ourselves with the necessaries and a few of the conveniences of life." Considering how limited have been the pecuniary means of the emigrants to Liberia, and the difficulties always inevitable to the settlers in a country to the climate of which they are stran-

gers, and with the products of which they have to make themselves acquainted, I am rather surprised that they have done so much in agriculture than that they have done no more. Substantial farm houses, surrounded by well cleared and cultivated plantations, of from ten to thirty and fifty or seventy acres, adorn, on both sides, the banks of the St. Paul's (with occasional interruptions) for the distance of twenty miles. Several hundred acres are cleared (in part out of a dense and lofty forest) at Bassa Cove, Edina, and at Bexley, (some five to eight miles up the beautiful river St. John's;) and at Greenville, Rossville, and Readville, on the Sinou, are similar decided evidences of agricultural industry and improvement. It may be confidently predicted that, whenever adequate capital, skill, and machinery, shall be introduced, the culture of rice and cotton, the sugar cane and coffee, will prove as successful and profitable as in any region of the world. My personal inquiries and observations in Liberia have led me to concur in the opinion expressed by the intelligent committee of Bassa county, that in internal resources, "it is unsurpassed by any country of the globe." This committee, and that appointed by the citizens of Sinou county, both declare that the disposition for the cultivation of the soil is increasing. "We have," say the committee of Montserado county, "an extensive territory, which can at any time be easily enlarged, by compact with the proprietors of the soil, to any desirable extent. The soil is of the highest fertility, and adapted to a great variety of articles available in the arts and in commerce. The forests teem with valuable timber for furniture, house and ship building. The rivers abound with choice fish, and the woods with game, and our gardens can be made to produce every thing in their kind necessary to a comfortable existence."

The same committee state, "That coffee of a superior kind is indigenous here, and the people are turning their attention to the cultivation of it, and means only are wanted to bring it in large quantities into the market; sugar cane also thrives well, though, for the same reason, no considerable quantity has been produced; cotton, ginger, arrow-root, and numerous plants and shrubs employed in the *materia medica*, grow here with the vigor and fruitfulness of indigenous articles." In addition to the great staples of rice, cotton, the sugar cane, and coffee, the Liberians specify corn, cassada, yams, sweet potatoes, cabbages, arrow root, turnips, beets, carrots, tomatoes, lima and

other beans, peas, cymplings, chiota, ochra, cucumbers, choice varieties of pepper, ground nuts, palma christa, the India rubber tree, the croton oil nut, and the palm tree, (so multiplied in its uses,) as among their productions; and among their fruits, oranges, lemons, limes, guavas, pine apples, plantains, bananas, tamarinds, rose apples, pomegranates, cherries, cocoa nuts, paw paws, mango plums, alligator pears, patango, bread fruit, melons, and various other valuable vegetables and fruits of the tropics. Most of these I have myself seen growing luxuriantly in the gardens and farms of the republic.

According to the late Mr. Buxton, whose researches on the subject of the agricultural and commercial resources of Africa were very accurate and extensive, of dye-woods there are an abundance, yielding carmine, crimson, red, brown, brilliant yellow, and blue; of gums there are copal, senegal, mastic, and sudan or Turkey gum. The shea, or butter-nut, is hardly less valuable than the palm-nut. The tree producing it is said to extend over a large portion of the continent. Park thought the butter made from it superior to that made from cow's milk. The same gentleman quotes, from a report on Sierra Leone, the opinion of Mr. McCormack, "That the delta of the Seeing Broom, Kitiam, and Gallenas rivers could grow rice enough for the supply of the whole of the West Indies."

It is known to all who have visited Liberia, that large substantial cotton cloths, spun, woven, and dyed by the natives of interior Africa, are brought in great numbers for sale to the merchants of Monrovia and the neighboring settlements, and are purchased by the Africans on the coast.

From what I saw of the growth of the sugar cane on several plantations on the St. Paul's, it is impossible for me to doubt that it will soon prove among the most valuable productions of that rich country. The *Liberia Herald* stated, more than a year ago, that Mr. Cyrus Willis of Millsburg, had made in one season more than 3,000 pounds of beautiful sugar, and a quantity of excellent syrup. From the appearance of his cane fields, it was thought his subsequent crop would produce eight thousand pounds. Though the death, recently, of this enterprising man is to be regretted, it is hoped and expected that this experiment will be prosecuted successfully by others. Beaver says: "Of the vegetables that are wild, the sugar cane, cotton shrub, and indigo plant seem the most valuable. No country in the world is more amply enriched than this is with the chief produc-



tions of the animal and vegetable kingdoms. The ground nut yields a pure golden-colored oil, of a pleasant taste, and has been sold as high as £50 per ton. The castor-nut grows wild on the banks of the Gambia and elsewhere. The ginger of Africa is particularly fine and highly flavored; it yields about sixty for one; and the people only want instruction in the method of preparing it for the European markets.

"The woods of this continent are extremely valuable. Travellers enumerate not less than forty species of timber, which grow in vast abundance, and are easily obtained—such as mahogany, teak, ebony, lignumvitæ, rosewood, &c.

"With few considerable exceptions, the whole line of coast in Western Africa, accessible to trading vessels, presents immense tracts of lands of the most fertile character, which only require the hand of industry and commercial enterprise to turn into inexhaustible mines of wealth."

The tea plant is reported by McQueen, on the authority of an Arabian traveller, and others more recent, to grow spontaneously and abundantly in the interior of Africa.

#### MARYLAND COLONY.

Of the Maryland Colony, at Cape Palmas, with a civilized population of about nine hundred, though the soil may be inferior to that of some of the settlements of the republic, we may report increasing attention to agriculture, and fair prospects of success.

At present, the commerce of the republic is restricted mainly to articles supplied by the native African population from the spontaneous resources and growth of the country—palm oil, camwood, ivory, tortoise shell, and occasionally small quantities of gold—given in exchange for tobacco, powder, muskets, rum, cotton goods, salt soap, crockery and iron ware, copper and iron rods, and American provisions. Of course this trade must increase with the development of the agricultural resources of the country; nor is it easy to set limits to the amount or value of its exports, when human industry, skill and labor shall have cleared away the wilderness, and brought its lands under the cultivation of a civilized people.

#### TRADE, ETC.

Hitherto the books of the Liberian Custom House have not shown the extent of the trade within the territory of the republic, because duties have been collected

only at the ports of entry, while large English and German establishments have been conducting their operations on other and different parts of the coast; and it is believed that more than one of these establishments have each exported annually as large an amount of produce, from regions under its authority, as the entire quantity set down as exports in the books of the collector. The energy and vigilance of the authorities of the republic will, it is presumed, give effect to an efficient revenue system, and foreign traders be compelled to enter all their goods, and pay thereon the prescribed duties.

The entire suppression of the slave trade within, and in both directions far beyond, the limits of the republic; the order, peace, and security arising under a just and well administered government; the new encouragements and rewards extended to industry, in connection with the vast extent of the camwood forests, and the great number and productiveness of the palm trees—give reason to anticipate a rapid increase in the amount of some of the most valuable articles of African commerce. Of the present amount of imports and exports, different opinions are expressed by intelligent citizens of the republic. The committee at Sinou estimate the imports annually at about four hundred thousand dollars, and the exports at seven hundred thousand. The committee of Monrovia represent that of palm oil are annually exported from the republic five hundred thousand gallons. The editor of the Liberia Herald, in an article on the palm oil trade, of June 7th, 1847, says:—"Every man in the colony knows that the palm trees abound throughout all our borders; that no space of five miles can be penetrated where they may not be counted by scores; that, where they do not grow, they have only to be planted; that the soil is every where adapted to them; and, also, that they become more prolific the more regularly the fruit is gathered from them. About the year 1815, Capt. Spence, a merchant trader from London, purchased from the natives about the river Sesters, two barrels of oil, and encouraged them to go on in procuring it, by engaging to take all they could make in the ensuing season. We may safely put down the amount exported in 1846, from the region extending from Cape Montserado down to Cape Palmas, at two millions of gallons."

The following letter, from the Secretary of the Treasury of the Liberian republic, merits a place in this report:—

MONROVIA, November 23, 1849.

"DEAR SIR:—In reference to the conversation we had a few days ago as to the amount of commerce between Liberia and the United States, I have, after consulting with a gentleman of considerable experience in mercantile affairs, arrived at the conclusion that it may be safely admitted that one fifth of the entire trade with Liberia is with the United States.

"The committee whose duty it was to furnish you with a report have, I think, considerably underrated the annual exports from Liberia. It may be fairly stated at five hundred thousand dollars in African commodities, (one-fifth of which is one hundred thousand dollars,) and our imports from the United States may be estimated at one hundred and fifty thousand dollars.

"It is worthy of remark, that, at present, it is only from the United States that our merchants import goods; and further, that the kind of goods most suitable for the African trade come from Europe.

"The commerce of Liberia is in its infancy; but it advances rapidly. The two principal articles of trade are tobacco and powder; and no country can compete with the United States in these items. Provisions, also, will soon find an extensive market in Liberia; already the natives have commenced purchasing them, particularly beef, pork, and salt fish.

"I am not exaggerating when I say, that the trade advances at least fifty per cent. annually.

"The American cotton goods are in quality superior to those brought from Europe, but there is a material difference in the price. The European is the cheapest; and hence the inability of the American to compete with the European. In Liberia we attribute the difference in price to the low price of labor in Europe.

"Yours, very respectfully,

"M. LEWIS.

"REV. R. R. GURLEY."

#### MISSIONS.

Dedicating herself with extraordinary liberality and vigor of purpose to the cause of Christianity in Liberia, the Methodist Episcopal church of the United States has sent to Liberia the treasures of divine truth and the messages of divine mercy; and, in fourteen day schools and eighteen Sunday schools, they afford instruction to not less than six hundred and ninety pupils.

Animated by a kindred spirit, the Southern Baptist Board of Missions have gathered into their schools in the republic three hundred and thirty children, ninety-two of whom are children of native Africans; and their missionaries preach the divine word to ten thousand of the native population.

The Northern Baptist Board have missionary schools at Bexley, in Bassa county, and at Little Bassa: at the former twenty-four native pupils, and at the latter sixteen—both schools being conducted by educated native teachers of exemplary piety. A Baptist church is organized in connection with this mission at Bexley, sixteen native Africans having been admitted to its communion.

Several missionary stations are occupied by the board of the Presbyterian Church, (old school,) and schools and churches sustained by them at Monrovia, Sinou, and on the banks of St. Paul's river. A plan is already adopted for the establishment and endowment of a high school at Monrovia, to bear the honored name of Alexander, to be sustained by the donations of members of this communion. The Rev. Mr. Ellis, who will be connected with this seminary, has acquired knowledge under most depressing circumstances, and proved how a strong and virtuous mind may encounter and subdue the evils of fortune.

Of Mr. James's school at Monrovia, which derives support from the benevolent ladies of New York city, I concur in the opinion of Mr. Harris, "that it would be an honor and an ornament to any New England village." "I visited," he continues, "this school, and am compelled to confess, that, in reading, writing, grammar, and all the branches of a common school education, I never witnessed greater proficiency of scholars of the same age in any part of my native New England. This school was founded by the ladies of New York; and my impression is, that they continue to contribute with great liberality to its maintenance."

The mission of the Protestant Episcopal church, at Cape Palmas, (the seat of the Maryland colony,) has three native male schools, containing about seventy pupils, and two female boarding schools, containing forty scholars. In the Sunday and night schools of the mission are about two hundred and twenty to two hundred and forty pupils, of both sexes. In addition to these schools for natives, are two day and two Sunday schools for the children of the colonists. The male school has fifteen pupils now preparing for a contemplated

high school, and the female day school has about fifty scholars, while the two Sunday schools embrace from eighty to one hundred children.

Of native and colonial children, the number under the care and patronage of this mission exceeds three hundred. Of native communicants there are about forty-five, and in connection with the colonial church twenty-five, making in all seventy members.

The intelligent Governor of the Maryland colony, in reply to inquiries on the subject of education, says:—"We have six day schools, numbering one hundred and seventy-four pupils, and three Sunday schools of one hundred and twenty-eight. We are in great need of a high school, in which the higher branches of education may be taught."

Every civilized stranger, instructed in the truths, and sensible of the Christian religion, who visits the republic of Liberia, must experience an inexpressible delight, not only in the visible evidences of the institutions of a free and well-organized State, but in the quiet, ever-active, and beneficent operations of missionary teachers, penetrating, and making glad by their presence, the gloom of the African forest, and, under the protection of its government, inviting not only its sons and its daughters into their schools, but imparting, with a zeal, a cheerfulness, and a perseverance not to be defeated, a knowledge of letters, of some branches of science, and above all, of Divine revelation, to the superstitious and barbarous population of Africa. To find Christian teachers and ministers with libraries—small, but of choice books—in their thatched dwellings, beneath the shade of the palm tree, in spots where but a few openings have been made in the dense forest; to see groups of native African children gathered for instruction; to listen to voices of Christian worshippers, and hear the songs of Christian praise, amid the habitations of idolatry and cruelty—gives beauty even to the aspect of uncultivated nature, and animates with unwonted joy every thoughtful and benevolent heart.

The authorities and people of Liberia cherish a sincere attachment to the government and people of the United States. They are sensible that, under the auspices of American benevolence, they have attained to their present elevation, from which they are permitted to see before them a widely expanding and glorious prospect of social happiness and political prosperity and renown.

The scheme of African colonization originated not only in benevolence towards our colored population, but towards both races on this continent, and towards two quarters of the globe. At its inception, our most illustrious statesmen—a Jefferson, Marshall, Monroe, and Madison—gave to it their sanction. It was seen to unite Christian philanthropy with political expediency; a just regard for our national welfare, with the more solemn obligations of religious duty. It has derived strength from the homes of the good and pious in our Southern States, and found eloquent advocates and defenders in their legislative halls. Many States have urged its claims upon the General Government, and the voices of the churches of every name second their appeals.

But it is the success of the plan of African colonization, as seen in the independent Republic of Liberia, that most conclusively commends it to national consideration. On that far distant shore, for ages darkened by superstition and outraged by crime, a community of free colored persons from the United States, aided by American benevolence, have adopted a Constitution of free government, and taken their high position among the independent States of the world. England and France have acknowledged their right of self-government, and their just claim to the respect and comity of nations. What higher motives can be imagined than those which have given existence to this Republic? What work more honorable or more sublime than that to which it is dedicated and destined? Though at present few in numbers and very limited in means, a vast field for action and influence opens before it; and in its constitution and laws, in the spirit of its people, the advantages of its position, and the motives and necessities of those who are hastening to build up their homes and their fortunes under the shadow of its wings, we see the elements of mighty power, of an unbounded growth and prosperity. It has been justly said, that "the great necessity of the world at this moment is a free, civilized, and powerful State within the tropics—a necessity felt through every period of the world's history, and now about to be realized. The western coast of Africa is, in every point of view, the most effective position for such a State to occupy. The black race, of which there cannot be much less than



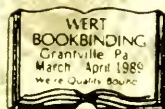
150,000,000 on earth, is pre-eminently the race needing such a development, and prepared for it; and the United States are exactly in a condition to found such a Commonwealth with this race, and under circumstances the most hopeful to the world, and the most beneficial to the blacks." Around this Republic of Liberia, the morning star of Africa's redemption, revealing how great evils may be transmuted by the hand of the Almighty into an incalculable good; which looks with encouraging and cheering aspect upon the African race in every part of the earth; reconciles the gift of liberty with the highest interests of those who bestow and those who receive it; opens a quarter of the world, for many years shut up in barbarism, to the genial and renovating influence of letters, laws, commerce, and Christianity—are gathered the sympathies of all virtuous and generous minds, allied with its safe-guard, the all-encircling and never-slumbering power of an omnipotent Providence. The rapid increase of free persons of color, in many of the States of this Union; the importance, for their benefit more than our own, of their organization into a community by themselves, in the land of their ancestors; the immense advantages such a community must secure to itself and extend to others, by developing the resources and turning into legitimate channels the commerce of Africa, by the civilization it must impart, and the moral and political truths it must exem-

plify and enforce among her ignorant, debased, and chaotic population—all commend the Republic of Liberia to the regards of the General Government of this Union. Engaged in a work of unsurpassed dignity and importance, the inhabitants of this small Republic are accomplishing more good, as I must believe, than any equal number of human beings, in private stations, on the face of the globe. More than to the united endeavors of all Christian nations, with their treaties and armed squadrons against the slave trade, is humanity indebted for its suppression along many hundred miles of the African coast, to the people of Liberia. But it should not be concealed, that to explore Africa; to establish commercial intercourse and relations with her interior tribes; to improve and fortify the harbors of the Republic; to make needful experiments in agriculture and the arts in a region to which the people from this country have so recently been introduced, and to maintain a wise system of education for all classes of her population, so that its territory shall offer an attractive home to all the free descendants of Africa—demands pecuniary means to which the present revenues of Liberia are unequal. But since this Republic, more than any other power, will develop the resources and increase the trade of Western Africa, the United States, in aiding her endeavors, will open new markets for American productions, and essentially augment American commerce.









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